A SHORTE TREA-
tise of politike pouuer, and of the true Obe-
dience which subiectes owe to kynges and other
ciuile Gouernours, with an Exhortacion
to all true naturall Englishe
men, Compyled
by.

John ✤ Ponnet D.D.

D. I. P. B. R. VV.

Dieb⁹ Phillip & Mary

1556.

1642. reprinted in 2°

Psal. 118. It is better to trust in the Lorde,
than to trust in Princes.

This little Book is full of excellent principles concerning Government, & maintains the doctrine of killing Tyrants; & is the more singular for being wrote in such an Age TH.

TO THE GENTIL READER.

CONtent thy self to reade ouer this ſhorte treatiſe/wherin is neither hereſie/felonye/ nor treaſon/ but all that is written here in fewe/is ment for thy pleyntifull benefite/ neceſſary admonition/and faithfull inſtruction. And albeit the Printour is not ſure/ whether the autor be gone to God allready (as by the diſcourſe of the mater he ſemeth to be) or yet ſtill in this life/yet forasmuche as the grauitie of the Worke/the ſobreneſſe of the ſtile / and the equitie of the cauſe ioyned with ſubſtauntial Profes/importe a mightye zeale/ and a feruent care of the autor for his countrey/ he is pleaſed to put furthe the Worke/to thintent the trauaile of the doer be not loſt / neither true Engliſ he harres fruſtrate of ſo worthie an inſtructiō/ onles they wil willingly neglecte their owne ſaue garde/ the ſtate of their countrey/and the Preſeruation of theyr poſteritie. God geue thee (good reader) a will to forſee/an heart to perceaue/ and a iudgement to diſcerne thyne owne ſtate in tyme/ and in Chriſt hartily well to fare.

Amen.

VVHEROF POLITIKE

povver grovveth, vverfore it vvas or- dayned, and the right uſe and duetie of the ſame: &c.

AS OXEN, SHEPE, GOATES, ād ſuche other unreaſonable creatures cānot for lacke of reaſon rule themſelues, but muſt be ruled by amore excellent creature, that is mā: ſo mā, albeit he haue reaſon, yet bicauſe through the fall of the furſt man, his reaſon is wonderfully corrupt, and ſenſualitie hathe goten the ouer hande, is not hable by himſelf to rule himſelf, but muſt haue a more excellent gouernour. The worldlinges thought, this gouernour was their owne reaſon. They thought, they might by their owne reaſon, doo &what them luſted, nod onely in priuate thinges, but alſo in publike. Reaſon they thought to be the only cauſe, that men furſt aſſembled together in companies, that common welthes were made, that policies were well gouerned and long continued: but menſee, that ſuche were utterly blynded and deceaued in their ymaginacions, their doinges and inuentiones (ſemed they neuer ſo wiſe) were ſo eaſili and ſo ſone (contrary to their expectacion) ouerthrowen.

&wher is the &wiſdome of the Grecianes? &wher is the fortitude of the Aßirianes? wher is bothe the wiſdome and force of the Romaynes become? All is uanished awaye , nothing almoſt lefte to teſtifie that they were, but that which well declareth, that their reaſon was not hable to gouerne them. Therfore were ſuche as were deſirous to knowe the perfit and only gouernour of all, conſtrayned to ſeke further than them ſelues, and ſo at leynght to confeſſe, that it was one God that ruled all. By him we lyue, we haue our being, and be moued. He made us, and not we our ſelues. &we be his people, and the shepe of his paſture. He made all thinges for man: and man he made for him ſelf, to ſerue and glorifie him. He hathe taken upon him thordre and gouernement of man his chief creature , and preſcribed him a rule, how he should behaue him ſelf , what he should doo, and what he maye not doo.

This rule is the lawe of nature, furſt planted and graffed only in the mynde of mã, thã after for that his mynde was through ſynne defiled, filled with darkneſſe, ãd encõbred with many doubtes) ſet furthe in writing in the decaloge or ten cõmaundemẽtes: and after reduced by Chriſt our ſaueour ì to theſe two wordes: Thou shalt loue thy lorde God aboue all thinges, ãd thy neighbour as thy ſelf. The later part vvherof he alſo thus expoundeth: vvhat ſo euer ye vvill that men doo vnto you, doo ye euen ſo to them.

In

In this lawe is comprehended all iuſtice, the perfite waye to ſerue and glorifie God, and the right meane to rule euery man particularly, and all men generally: and the only ſtaye to mayntayne euery cõmõ wealthe. This is the touchestone to trye euery mãnes doinges (be he king or begger) whether they be good or euil. Bi this all mẽnes lawes be diſcerned, whether they be iuſte or uniuſte, godly or wicked. As for an example. Thoſe that haue autoritie to make lawes in a common wealthe, make this lawe, that no pynnes shalbe made, but in their owne coũtrey. It ſemeth but a trifle. Yet if by this meanes the people maye be kept from idleneſſe, it is a good and iuſte lawe and pleaſeth God. For idleneſſe is a uice wherwith God is offẽded: and the waye to offende him in breache of theſe commaundemẽtes: Thou shalt not ſteale, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be a horemonger, &c. For all theſe euilles come of idleneſſe. On the other ſyde, if the people be well occupied in other things, and the people of an other countrey lyue by pynnemaking, and uttring them: thã if ther should be a lawe made, that they might not ſell them to their neighbours of the other countrey, otherwiſe well occupied, it were a wicked and an uniuſte lawe. For taking awaye the meane, wherby they lyue, a meane is deuiſed to kill them with famyne, and ſo is not onely this commaundement broken: Thou shalt not kill, but alſo the general lawe, that ſayeth: Thou shalt

loue thy neighbour as thy ſelf. And, vuhat ſo euer ye vuill that men do vnto you, euen ſo do you vnto thē. For you your ſelues vuold not be killed vuith hungre.

Likewiſe if ther be a lawe made, vtterly prohibiting any mā that can not lyue chaſte, to marie: this is an vniuſte, an vngodly and a wicked lawe. For it is an occaſion, that wher with marieng, he might auoide ſynne: he not marieng dothe committe horedome in acte or thought contrary to Goddes &will and commaundemēt: Thou ſhalt not cōmitte horedome

Agayn, a prince forceth his ſubiectes (vnder the name of requeſt) to lēde him that they haue, which they doo vnwillingly: and yet for feare of a worſe tourne, they muſt ſeme to be content therwith. Afterwarde he cauſeth to be aſſembled in a Parliamēt ſuch as perchaunce lent nothing, or elles ſuch as dare not diſpleaſe him. They to pleaſe him, remit this general debte. This is a wicked, vngodly, and vniuſt lawe. For they doo not, as they ſholde be donc vnto, but be an occaſion, that a great nombre be vndone, their children for lacke of ſuſtenaunce periſhe through famyne, and their ſeruauntes forced to ſtele, and perchaunce to cōmytt murther. So that if men will &weigh well this lawe and lawe that God hathe preſcribed to man, Thou ſhalt loue thy lord God aboue all thinges, and thy neighbour as thy ſelf. And, what ſo euer ye will that men do vnto you, do ye euen the ſame vnto them:

they

they maye sone learne to trye good from euil, godlyneſſe from vngodlyneſſe, right from wrong.

And it is ſo playne and eaſie to be vnderſtanden, that no ignoraunce cā or will excuſe him that therin offendeth.

Againſt thoffendours of this lawe, ther was no corporal punishement ordayned in this worlde, til after the deſtruction of the &worlde with the great floud. For albeit Cayn and Iamech had committed horrible murthers, yet &were they not corporally puniſhed, but had a protection of God, that none ſhould lauſully hurte them. But after the flood, whan God ſawe his gentilneſſe and pacience could not worke his creatures to doo their dueties vnforced, but iniquitie preuailed and miſchief daily encreaced, and one murthered, and deſtroyed an other: than was he conſtrayned to chaunge his lenitie into ſeueritie, and to adde corporal paynes to thoſe that wold not folowe, but tranſgreſſe his ordinaunces. And ſo he made this lawe, which he declared to Noha: He that Sheadeth the bloud of man, his bloud Shal be Shead by man. For man is made after the ymage of God.

By this ordinăce and lawe he inſtituteth politike power and geueth authoritie to mē to make more lawes.

For

For he that geueth man autoritie ouer the body and life of man, bicauſe he wolde haue man to lyue quietly with mã, that all might ſerue him quietly in holynes and righteouſnes, all the dayes of their life, it can not be denyed, but he gaue him autoritie ouer goodes, landes, poſſeßiones and all ſuche thinges as might bried controuerſies and diſcordes, and ſo hyndre and let, that he might not be ſerued and glorified, as he requireth. This ordinaunce alſo teacheth makers of lawes, how they should behaue thẽ ſelues in making lawes: that is, to ſet aparte all affectiones, and to obſerue an equalitie in paynes, that they be not greater or leſſe, than the fault deſerueth, and that they puniſhe not thinnocent or ſmal offendour for malice, and let the mightie and great theſe eſcape for affection. And out of this ordinaunce groweth and is grounded thautoritie for Magiſtrates to execute lawes: for lawes without execucion, be no more profitable, than belles without clappers. But whether this authoritie to make lawes, or the power to execute the ſame, ſhal be and remayne in one perſon alone, or in manie, it is not expreſſed, but lefte to the diſcreciõ of the people to make ſo many and ſo fewe, as they thinke neceſſarie for the mayntenaunce of the ſtate. &wherupon in ſom places, they haue ben content to obey ſuche lawes, as were made by one, as the Iſraelites were with thoſe that Moyſes ordayned: the Lacedemones with thoſe that Licurgus made, the Athe-

nes

nes with thoſe that Solon gaue them. And in ſome places with ſuche as &were made by certayn outchoſen men, as in Rome by the ten men. And in ſome they receaued none, but ſuche as all the multitude agreed Vnto. Likewiſe in ſome countreyes they were cõtent to be gouerned, and the lawes executed by one king or Iudge, in ſome places by many of the beſt ſorte, in ſome places by the people of the loweſt ſorte, and in ſome places alſo by the king, nobilitie, and the people all together.

And theſe diuerſe kyndes of ſtates or policies hade their diſtincte names, as wher one ruled, a Monarchie: &wher many of the beſt, Ariſtocratie: &wher the multitude, Democratie: and wher all together, that is, a king, the nobilitie, and cõmones, a mixte ſtate: &which men by long continuaunce haue iudged to be the beſt ſort of all. For wher that mixte ſtate was exerciced, ther did the cõmon wealthe longeſt continue. But yet euery kynde of theſe ſtates tended to one ende, that is, to the mayntenaunce of iuſtice, to the &wealthe and benefite of the hole multitude, and not of the ſuperiour and gouernours alone. And whan they ſawe, that the gouernours abuſed their autoritie, they altred the ſtate. As among the Iſraelites, for the iniquitie of the children of Samuel their iudge, from Iudges to kinges: among the Romaynes, for the tyrannye and oppreſſion that

Tarquinius

Tarquinius vsed ouer the people (as the chief occasion) and afterwarde for his sonnes lewdenesse (as the outwarde occasion) from kinges to Consules, and so from Consules (for their euil demeanour) to Decem viri and Triumviri, that is, to ten rulers and three rulers: and so from chaunge to chaunge, tyll it came to the state Imperial: yet alwayes preseruing and mayntening thautoritie, albeit they altred and chaunged the kinde of gouernement. For the Ethnikes themselues being ledde only by the lawe of nature and their owne reason, sawe that without politike power and autoritie, mankynde could not be preserued, nor the worlde continued. The riche wold oppresse the poore, and the poore seke the destruction of the riche, to haue that he hade: the mightie wold destroye the weake, and as Theodoretus sayeth, the great fishe eate vp the small, and the weake seke reuenge on the mighty: and so one seking the others destruction, all at leynght shoulde be vndone and come to destruction. And bicause this authoritie and power, bothe to make lawes, and execute lawes, proceded from God, the holy goost in scripture calleth them Goddes: not for that they be naturally Godds, or that they be transubstantiated in to Goddes (for he sayeth, they shall dye like men, and in dede their workes declare them to be non other than men) but for thautoritie and power which they receaue of God,

to be

to be his ministers here in earthe, in ruling and gouerning his people, and that the people should the rather obeye them, and haue them in honour and reuerence, according to his ordinaunce.

And the wonderfull prouidence of God is herein to be wel noted and considered, of all suche as loue and feare God, that in all places and countreyes wher Goddes worde hathe ben receaued and embraced, ther for the tyme the people folowed God, no tirannye could entre, but all the membres of the body sought the prosperitie and wealthe one of an other, for Goddes worde taught them so to doo. Thou shalt loue the lorde thy God (sayeth it) aboue all thinges, and thy neighbour as thy selfe. And, what ye will that men doo vnto you, doo you euen so vnto them. The frutes of his worde is loue one of an other, of what state or degree in this worlde so euer they be. And the state of the policies and common wealthes haue ben disposed and ordained bi God, that the headdes could not (if they wolde) oppresse the other membres. For as among the Lacedemonians certain men called Ephori were ordayned so see that the kinges should not oppresse the people, and among the

Romaynes,

Romaynes, the Tribunes were ordayned to defende and mayntene the libertie of the people from the pride and iniurie of the nobles: ſo in all Chriſtian realmes and dominiones God ordayned meanes, that the heads the prìces ăd gouernours should not oppreſſe the poore people after their luſtes, ăd make their wil les their lawes. As in Germanye betwene thẽperour ăd the people, a Counſail or diet: in Fraũce and Englande, parliamentes, wherin ther mette and aſſembled of all ſortes of people, and nothing could be done without the knowlage and conſent of all. But wher the people haue forſaken God, and contẽned utterly his worde, ther hathe the deuil by his miniſters, occupied the hole countrey, and ſubuerted the good ordres, iuſtice and equalitie, that was in the common wealthe, and planted his unreaſonable luſtes for good lawes, as euery man maye ſee by the Realme of Vngarie which the Turke in our tyme hathe occupied. And wher the people haue not utterly forſaken God and his worde, but haue begonne to be weary of it: ther hathe not God ſuffred Tyrannes by and by to rush in, and to occupie the hole, and to ſuppreſſe the good ordres of the common wealthe, but by litel and litel hathe ſuffred them to crepe in, firſt with the head, than with an arme, and ſo after with a legge, and at leynght (were not the people penitent, and in tyme conuerted to God) to bring in the hole body, and to worke the feates of Tirannes,

as hereafter it shalbe declared.

This is so manifest in most places, that it shall not nede any particular example. &wherfore it shalbe the parte of all Christen men to take hede, that in forsaking God, they bring not iustly the deuil and tyrannes to reigne ouer them. And those that be called to councelles and parliamentes (and so to be makers of lawes, wherby the people should be bounden) not to neglecte their duetie, or to deceaue the people of the trust and confidence, that was put in them. For it is no litle daunger that maye therby folowe unto them, bothe in this worlde, and in the worlde to come. For that man that toke upon him to doo any thing for an other (being the thing neuer so litle of ualue) and therin did use him self either craftily, seking his owne gayne and profit, or shewe him self not diligent, or not passing what became of the matter committed to his trust, our elders being men of honestie, iudged and condemned for a most uile uarlet and unhonest persone: and being men of wisedome, made a lawe (which continueth til this daye) not only that he should make recompence for the hurt he did, but also that he should not be allowed afterwarde in the company or nombre of honest men, no more than an open these. And this they did not by will, but by reason, not rashly, but aduisedly, not by the moo voices, but by the more discrete headdes, bicause they sawe, that men could

not

not be alwayes present to doo their owne thinges, but of necessitie must use the helpe and trust of others. And again, nature hathe not made euery man apte for all thinges, but hathe made one man more mete for one purpose than an other : so that one hauing nede of an other, euery one should be glad to doo for an other, and all be tyed together in an undissoluble strong bande of frendship. And therfore was suche false and unfrendly dealing taken to be most uile, bicause it did uiolate two the chiefest uertues and most necessary thinges, without which mankynde coulde not contynue: faithe, and frēdship. For noman requireth an other, to doo any thing for him, whom he taketh not to be his frende, nor trusteth him, whom he thinketh not faithfull. And therfore they thought him to be a uery wicked and vile persone, and not worthy the name of a man, that at one tyme and in one thing should thus undoo the knot of frendship, and deceaue him, whom he coulde not haue hurted, onles he hade trusted him. Now if nature, reason, honestie and lawe dothe so greuously punishe him, and cast him out of all honest mennes companies, that is necligent in a trifle, how muche more ought he to be punished and cast out of all mennes sight, that is necligent in the greatest matiers? If he ought so sharpely to be vsed, that deceaueth one poore man : how muche more sharpely ought he to be punished, and

of

of all men to be abhorred (yea cast to the dogges) that deceaueth a hole Realme often or twentie hundred thousaunt persones? If he be thus to be abhorred and punished, that is required to doo an other mannes busyneſſe, and deceaueth him: how muche more ought they to be abhorred and hated, that take vpon them to doo for others, not desired but suyng for it: not called therto, but thrusting in them self: not prayed, but payeng, geuing many lyuereyes, procuring and making frendes to geue them their voices, obteynyng of great mennes lettres, and ladies tokens, feasting freholders, and making great banketting cheare: not by the consent of the parte, but by force and streinght, with tropes of horsemen, billes, bowes, pykes, gonnes, and suche like kynde of qualityes.

If this opinion be had, and iudgement be geuen against a man that seketh his owne gayne with the losse of his frendes in small thinges: what opinion maye men haue, what iudgemēt shalbe geuen of those, that (to make them selues noble and riche) cutte the throtes of those that committed them selues, their wyues, their children, their goodes, yea and lyues vpon trust in to their handes?

If this iudgemēt be geuen for worldly thinges, what iudgemēt shalbe geuē of those that wilfully goo about to destroye mēnes soules, and to make thē a present to the deuil, so that they for a tyme maye be his deputies

here

here in earthe? If men doo thus abhorre and punishe ſuche unfaithfull and unhoneſt perſones: how muche more will thalmightie God abhorre, condemne, and exercice his ſeuere iudgement on them, that thus abuſe the autoritie geuen unto them by him, and deceaue and undoo thoſe poore shepe of his, in whom (as his miniſters) they put their truſt?

Hearke, hearke (while tyme of repentaunce is) to the ſentence of God, pronounced by the mouthe of his ſeruaunt and Prophet Eſaias. VVo be vnto you (ſayeth he) that make vnrighteous lauues, and deuiſe thinges vuhich be to harde to be kept, vuherby the poore are oppreſſed on euery ſyde, and thinnocentes of my people are theruuith robbed of iudgement, that vuydouues maye be your praye, and that ye maye robbe the fatherles. VVhat vuill ye doo in tyme of the viſitacion and deſtruction that shall come from farre? To vuhom vuill ye runne for helpe? Or to vuhom vuill ye geue your honour, that he maye kepe it? that ye come not among the priſoners, or lye among the dead?

This terrible wo of euerlaſting damnacion was ſpoken not only to Ieruſalem, but to Germanie, Italie, Fraunce, Spayne, Englande, Scotlande, and all other countreyes and naciones, wher the like

uices

vices shalbe committed. For God is iuste, and so hateth sinne, that he neuer leaueth it in any place vnpunished: but the more common it is, the greater plages and force dothe he vse to represse it: as we maye learne by the examples of the cities Sodome and Gomor, and Ierusalem his owne citie. And besides the general plage, he whippeth the autors of it with som special scourge, that they maye be a spectacle, not only to those that are present, but also a remembraunce to all that be to come.

But perchaunce som (that be put in trust and autoritie to make statutes and lawes) will saye: & we doo not willingli any thing against Goddes honour, or the wealthe of our countrey, or deceaue any that put their trust in vs.

If any suche thing folowe, it is by reason that we were ignoraunt.

Tell me, I beseche thee, if thou hadest hyred one to be thy shepehearde, and thy shepe should vnder his hande by his ignoraunce myscarie: or if thy horsekeper taking wages, should (through his necligence) suffre thy horse to perishe: woldest thou not compte him faulty and loke for amendes at his handes? Should ignoraunce excuse him? No, thou woldest saye, I hyred thee, and thou tokest it vpon thee. And so thou woldest not onely force hym to make satisfaction, but also woldest thinke it iuste to haue him punisshed besydes to make himself no more cōnyng

than the was, not to deceaue any that put their truſt ī him. Than thei are muche to blame, that being put in truſt in Courtes and parliamentes to make la= wes and ſtatutes to the aduauncement of Goddes glo= rie, and conſeruation of the liberties and common wealthe of their countrey, neglecte their offlce and charge, being appointed to be not only kepers of Goddes people, not of hogges, neither of horſes and mules which haue no vnderſtāding, but of that deare flocke which Chriſt purchaced with the price of his hart blood: but alſo as phiſicianes and Surgeons, to redreſſe, reforme and heale, if any thing be amyſſe. And if a phiſitian for lucre or other mennes pleaſure, wold take vpon him the healing of a ſore diſeaſed per ſone, and for lacke of knowlage or vpō other euil pur poſe wold miniſtre thinges to hurt or kill the perſone, were he not worthy to be taken and punished as a bo= cher and a man murtherer?

But ye will ſaye: we gaue credit to others, and they deceaued vs. Thinke ye, that this balde excuſe will ſerue? Is it not written, that if the blynde leade the blynde, bothe ſhall fall in to the pitte? Did the plea that Eua made for offending in eating the forbidden apple (whan she ſayed, the ſerpent had deceaued her) excuſe her? Nothing leſſe. She was not only her ſelf therfore punished with ſuche paynes (as greater than deathe none could be deuiſed) hut alſo all her poſteritie.

Others

Other perhappes of you will saie : ye dare doo non otherwise. If ye did, ye should be taken for enemies of the gouernour, runne in to indignation, and so lose your bodies and goodes, and vndoo your children. O faynt heartes, Thinke ye, that your parentes had lefte you as ye be, if they had ben so faynt harted? Or thinke ye that this will serue your turne? &was it ynough for Adam our first father, whan he fell with bearing his wife companye in eating the forbidden apple, to saye, I durst not displease my wife: or to saye, as he sayed, The woman whome thou gaueste me, gaue it me? No, it auailed not, but he and all his posteritie were plagued for his disobedience, as we and all that shall folowe vs, doo well scle, if we haue any feare of God before our eies.

&whan the brutishe commones of Israel were so importune vpon Aaron, that he for feare was fayne to make them the golden calfe : wherwith whan Moses sharpely charged him he excused him self, sayeng: alas Sir, this sedicious and rageing brutishe people wold nedes haue me perforce to doo it. God knoweth, it was sore against my will : did this excuse acquite him, trowe you? No surely. If he had not repented, he had ben as sure of hell fyre for his labour, as they be, which haue set vp or sayed the beastly popyshe masse, at

the furious enforcement of the brutishe commones or in pretense of obedience to the Quenes procedinges in Englande: onles they spedily repent, and renounce their wicked doing, as Aaron did his.

Thus ye haue hearde not only wherof politike power groweth, and of the true vse and duetie therof, but also what wilbe layed to their charge, that doo not their duetie in making of lawes. Now see, what is sayed by God to the executours of lawes: See &what ye doo (Sayeth God) for ye execute not the iudgement of man, but of God. and &what so euer ye iudge, it shall redounde to your selues. Let the feare of God therfore be before your eies, and doo all thinges with diligence. For with the lorde our God ther is non iniquitie, neither difference of persones, nor yet hathe he pleasure in rewardes or bribes.

But of the ministers of lawes and gouernours of realmes and contreyes, more shalbe sayed hereafter.

VVHETHER KINGES princes, and other gouernours haue an obsolute power and authoritie ouer their subiectes.

Foraſmuche as thoſe that be the Rulers in the worlde, and wolde be take̅ for Goddes (that is, the miniſters and images of God here in earthe, the exāples and myrrours of all godlyneſſe, iuſtice, equitie, and other vertues) clayme and exercice an abſolute power, which alſo they call a fulneſſe of power, or prerogatiue to doo what they luſt, and none maye gayneſaye them: to diſpenſe with the lawes as pleaſeth them, and frely and without correction or offence doo contrary to the lawe of nature, and other Goddes lawes, and the poſitiue lawes and cuſtomes of their countreyes, or breake them: and vſe their ſubiectes as men doo their beaſtes, and as lordes doo their villanes and bondemen, getting their goodes from them by hoke and by crooke, with Sic volo, Sic iubeo, and ſpending it to the deſtruction of their ſubiectes: the miſerie of this tyme requireth to examyne, whether they doo it rightfully or wrōgfully, that if it be right full, the people maie the more willingly obeie and receaue the ſame: if it be wrongful, that than thoſe that vſe it, maye the rather for the feare of God leaue it. For (no douht) God will come, and iudge the worlde with equitie, and reuēge the cauſe of the oppreſſed. Of the popes power (who compteth him ſelf one, yea the

chief of these kinde of Goddes, yea aboue them all, and fellowe to the God of Goddes) we minde not now to treate: nother is it requisite. For all men, yea half wise women and babes can well iudge, that his power is worthy to be laught at: and were it not bolstred and propped vp with sweorde ād fagot, it wolde (as it will notwithstanding) shortly ly in the myre, for it is not buylt on the rocke, but on the sande, not planted by the father of heauen, but by the deuil of hell, as the frutes doo manyfestly declare. But we will speake of the power of kynges and princes, and suche like potentates, rulers, and gouernours of common wealthes.

Before ye haue hearde, how for a great long tyme, that is vntil after the general flood, ther was no ciuile or politike power, and how it was thā furst ordayned by God him self, and for what purpose he ordayned it: that is (to comprehende all briefly) to maynteine iustice: for euery one doing his deutie to God, and one to an other, is but iustice. Ye haue hearde also, howe states, bodies politike, and common wealthes haue autoritie to make lawes for the mayntenaunce of the policie, so that they be not contrary to Goddes lawe and the lawes of nature: which, if ye note well the question before propouned whether kīnges and princes haue an absolute power, shall appeare not doubtfull, or if any wolde affirme it, that he shall not be hable to maintene it. For first touching Goddes lawes

(by

(by which name also the lawes of nature be comprehended) kinges and princes are not ioyned makers herof with God, so that therby of thẽ selues they might clayme any interest or autoritie to dissolue them or dispense with them, by this Maxime or principal, that he that maye knyt together, maye lose asondre: and he that maye make, maye marre: for before Magistrates were, Goddes lawes were. Neither can it be proued, that by Goddes worde they haue any autoritie to dispense or breake them: but that they be still commanded to doo right, to ministre iustice, and not to swarue, neither on the right hande or on the leste. Than must it nedes folowe, that this absolute autoritie which they vse, must be mayntened by mannes reason, or it must nedes be an vsurpaciõ: But what can reason saye? If it be not laufull, by no lawes (no neither by honestie) for any mannes seruaunt to altre his maisters (a mortal mannes) commaundement: can reason saye, it is laufull for any persone to altre Goddes cõmaundement, or breake it? That a mannes seruaunt maye be wiser than his maister, that he maye be iuster than his maister, that he maye see what is more profitable and necessarie to be done thã his maister, cõmonly it happeneth: and therfore he maye haue som apparẽt cause, to altre or breake his maisters cõmaundement. But to saye, that any creature is, or that any creature wolde seme in worde or dede, to be more wise than God, more iuste than God, more prudent

and circumspecte than God, or knoweth what is better for the creature than the creatour him self (as it must nedes be saied, that he dothe, that taketh vpon him to breake or dispence with Goddes will and commaundementes) what an horrible blasphemie is it? & what luciferous presumpcion is it?

If we will not submit our selues to Goddes iudgement herein expressed by his worde, as Christianes should, let vs yet marke the sequele: and therby gather Goddes iudgement, as Ethnikes doo. For whan we haue wrought our wittes out, and deuised and done what we can, we can not so exclude God, but he will haue a saieng with vs.

Goddes worde, will and commaundement is, that he that wilfully killeth a man, shall also be killed by man: that is, the Magistrate. But this lawe hathe not ben obserued and all wayes executed, but kinges and princes vpon affection haue dispensed and broken it, graunting life and libertie to traitours, robbers, murtherours, &c.

But what hathe folowed of it? Haue they (whose offences haue ben so pardoned) after ward shewed them selues penitent to God, and thankfully profitable to the common wealthe? No, God and the commonwealthe haue hade no greater enemies. They haue added murther to murther, mischief to mischief, and of priuate malefactours, haue become publike, and of men killers, they haue at leinght grow-

wen

wen to be deſtroiers of their countrey, yea and many tymes of them that ſaued them from hanging and other iuſt paines of the lawe. And no maruail: for God dothe not oneli punishe the principalles and autors of ſuche miſchief, but alſo thoſe that be acceſſaries and mayntenours of it, and plageth iniquitie with iniquitie. Ye maie likewiſe ſee, what frutes haue folowed, wher popes, haue diſpenſed, that mariages might be made contrarie to Goddes lawes. &we shall not nede to rehearſe any? thende will declare all. But let vs leaue to reaſon that, wherin nothing can be ſaied for it. And let vs come to that, wherin ſomwhat maye be ſaied: that is, whether kinges and princes maye doo thinges contrary to the poſitiue lawes of their countrey. As for example.

It is a lawe poſitiue, that a meane kinde of apparail, or a meane kynde of diet should be vſed in a common wealthe, to thintent that men leauing thexceſſe therof, wherof many occaſiones bothe to deſtroie nature and to offende God folowe, they might conuerte that they before euil ſpent, to the relief of the pouertie, or defenſe of their countrey.

For anſwer to this queſtion, this diuiſion ought to be made, that ther be two kyndes of kinges, princes, and gouernours.

The one, who alone maye make poſitiue lawes, bicauſe the hole ſtate and body of their countrey haue geuē, and reſigned to them their authoritie ſo to doo:

which neuertheles is rather to be compted a tiranne than a king, as Dionisius, Philippus and Alexander were, who saued whom they wold ād spilt whom they lusted. And thother be suche, vnto whom the people haue not geuen suche autoritie, but kepe it them selues: as we haue before sayed cōcerning the mixte state.

True it is, that in maters indifferent, that is, that of them selues be neither good nor euil, hurtfull or profitable, but for a decent ordre: Kinges and Princes (to whom the people haue geuen their autoritie) maie make suche lawes, and dispense with them. But in maters not indifferent, but godly and profitably ordayned for the common wealthe, ther can they not (for all their autoritie) breake thē or dispense with them. For Princes are ordained to doo good, not to doo euil: to take awaie euil, not to increace it: to geue example of well doing, not to be procurers of euil: to procure the wealthe and benefite of their subiectes, and not to worke their hurt or vndoing. And in thempire wher (by the ciuile lawes) themperours claime, that the people gaue them their autoritie to make lawes, albeit they haue ben willing, and ofte attēpted to execute their autoritie, which som Pikethākes (to please them) saie they haue by the lawes, yet haue they ben forced of them selues to leaue of their enterprise. But such as be indifferent expounders of the lawes, be of that minde that we before haue declared: and therfore

make

make this a general conclusion, and as it were a rule, that thēperour willing any thing to be done, ther is no more to be done, than the lawes permit to be done. For (saie they) neither pope, Emperour, nor king may doo any thing to the hurt of his people without their cōsent. King Antigonus Chauncelour, saieng vnto him, that all thinges were honest ād lawfull to kinges: ye saie true (quod the king) but to suche kinges as be beastes, barbarous ād without humanitie: but to true ād good Princes, nothing is honest, but that is honest in dede, and nothing is iuste, but that is iuste in dede.

Anthiochus the thrid king of Asia, considering that as he was aboue the people, so the lawes were aboue him, wrote general lettres to all the cities of his countrey, that if they shoulde perceaue, that he by any lettres, should require any thing contrary to the lawes, they should thinke, that suche lettres were obteined without his cōsent, and therfore they should not obeie them.

Now if wher the people haue geuen their autoritie to their gouernour to make suche lawes, yet can he not breake or dispēse with the positiue lawes: how muche lesse maie suche gouernours, kinges, and princes to whō the people haue not geuen their autoritie (but they with the people, ād the people with thē make the lawes) breake them or dispēse with them? If this were tolerable, thā were it in vaine to make solēne assemblies of the hole state, long Parliamentes &c? yea

(I beseche

(I beseche the) what certayntie should ther be in any thyng, wher all should depende on ones will and affection? But it wilbe saied, that albeit kinges and princes can not make lawes, but with the consent of the people, yet maie they dispense with any positiue lawe, by reason that of long tyme they haue vsed so to doo, and prescribe so to doo: for long custome maketh a lawe.

To this it maye be answered, euil customes (be they neuer so olde) are not to be suffred, but vtterly to be abolished: and non maie prescribe to doo euil, be he king or subiecte. If the lawes appoint thee the time of thrittye or fourtie yeares to claime a sure and a perfit interesse of that thow enioiest, yet if thow knowe, that either thy self or those by &whom thow claimest, came wrongfully by it, thow art not in dede a perfit owner of it, but art bounden to restore it. Although the lawes of man doo excuse and defende thee frō outwarde trouble and punishemēt, yet cā they not quiet the cōsciēce, but whā thy cōscience remēbreth, that thow enioiest that is not thyne, it will byte the that thow haste done wrong: it will accuse the before the iudgement seat of God, and condemne the. And if princes and gouernours wolde shew thēselues half so wise, as they wolde men shoulde take them to be, and by the example of others learne &what mischief might happen to them selues, they wolde not (if they

might

might)clayme, muche leſſe execute any ſuche abſolute authoritie. No, neither wold their Counſailours (if they loued them)maintene them in it: nor yet the ſubiectes (if they did but conſidre their owne ſauetie and felicitie in this life) wolde not if they might, ſuffre their Prince to doo what him lusted.

For thone purchace to them ſelues a perpetuall vncertaintie bothe of life and goodes: and thother procureth the hatred of all, which albeit it be coloured and diſſembled for a ſeaſon, yet dothe it at leynght burſt out, and worketh the reuenge with extremitie.

Ther lacke no examples to verifie this. It was dryven in to the head of temperour C. Caligula, that he was ſubiecte to no power, that he was aboue all lawes, and that he might laufully doo what him luſted. This leſſon was ſo ſwete to the fleshe, that it was no ſoner moued than deſired, no ſoner taught than learned, no ſoner hearde than practiced. First by like that thempire should not goo out of his owne race, he coupleth not with one, but with all his ſuſters, like bitche and dogge. He killeth his brother Tiberius, and all his chiefeſt frendes: he murdereth many of the Senatours of Rome. He delited to haue honeſt men to be garshed, ſcotched and cut in the faces, and ſo to make him pleaſure, to haue them caſt

to

to rauenous beaſtes to be torne and deuoured in his ſight, or to be ſawed aſondre in the middes. It was a pleaſunt paſtyme for him, to ſee the parentes ſtande by, lamenting and weping, whiles their children were tormented and killed. He vſed to complayne and lament, that no common calamitie and notable miſeries happened in his time. He reioyced muche whan newes were brought him of the slaughters of hole armies of men, great hongre, peſtilence, townes burnyng, and openynges of the earthe, wherin many people were ſwalowed vp. But the daye he ſawe any of theſe him ſelf, he neded neither meat nor drinke, he was ſo iocunde and merye. And being glutted with the paſtime of euery mannes deathe, by him ſelf (to procure a newe appetite) he deuiſed an other, if he could haue brought it to paſſe. But whan he could not haue it done, the memorie therof was ſo ſwete, that he ofte deſired: that is, that all the headdes of the people of Rome ſtode on one mannes necke, that he might with one ſwaſhe cut it of. Many other noble actes by his abſolute power he wrought: and at leyngth he commaunded that his ymage ſhould be ſet vp in the temple at Ieruſalem, and ther worſhipped: as not vnlike Sait Gardiners (for he hathe done no smal thiges) ſhalbe ſhortly by Anticipaciõ in Englãd. But what was thende of Caligulaes abſolute power? whã he had reigned three yeares and ten monethes, his owne houſeholde ſeruaũtes conſpired

conſpired againſt hym, and the general of his owne Armie slewe him.

Nero thẽperour was of nature very modeſt, gentil, and merciſull, and the firſt fiue yeares of this reigne, he behaued him ſelf very vertuously. After, other counſaillours and maiſters, than Seneca crept into his fauour, who tolde him that he might doo what him luſted. He was ſone perſuaded therunto. And to ſhewe ſom proſt that he had well caried awaye their aduiſe: he killed his mother Agrippina. This cruel acte did ſo moue his wicked conſcience, that he durſt not come abroade in the Senate, but kept him ſelf ſecrete in his priuie chãbre. For he feared the hatred of the people, and knewe not what was beſt for hi to doo. He lacked no flattering Counſailours. Ther were pleintie that ſought their owne profit and gayne, and the ſatiſfieng of their luſtes, more than their princes honour and ſauetie, and the cõmon wealthe of their coũtreie Saie they: Sir, whi ſhould ye be thus amaſed with the deathe of this womã? She was of all people abhorred ãd hated: the people wõderfully reioyce in your doig, and cõmẽde you aboue the moone for ſo noble an acte. They deſire, that ye will returne in to the citie, that they maie with triumphe expreſſe how muche their ioie and gladneſſe is, and how they loue you for ſo noble a feate. Theſe craftie knaues ſeing how they might blinde their maiſters eies, cõmaunded in themperours behalf, that all the people ſhould come out of

Rome,

Rome, to mete themperour. The Senate in their best apparail cometh out, alle other ordres likewise after their degrees folowe, and finally man, & woman and childe.

Themperour whan he sawe them, thought all was done from the botome of their heart. The Senate shewed suche outwarde honour, the commones so great loue, eueri body pretended so great ioye and gladnesse. And thinke ye, ther were not about him that said. Dothe not your Maiestie well finde all our saienges true? maye ye not credite vs in that we counsail and aduise you? & what folowed? Themperour embrewed with the blood of his mother, and his vnnatural acte commended by his wicked Counsailours, ceasseth not from his crueltie, but earnestly goeth forwarde He putteth awaie his wife Octauia, bicause she semed to be baren. He marieth his harlot called Puppie. He sendeth his wife Octauia in to an Ilande, he byndeth her in chaines, and causeth her to be let blood in all partes: and fearing least feare wolde dryue the blood to the harte, and so she lyue longer than he wolde, he setteth her in a bayne of hotte water, that her blood might the soner come out. But what becometh of his deare dearling Puppie? he dalieth a while with his Puppie and at leyngth his hotte loue being turned in to displeasur, he spurneth her (being with Childe) on the belye, and so she dieth. To late he repented, but yet ceassed not his crueltie. He killed

his

his maister Seneca, he persecuted the churche of Christ most miserably, and so thinking that he might doo what him lusted, and that all was well done, were it neuer so euil done, he neuer lefte of his crueltie, til the people finding occasion and oportunitie to vttre their dissembled hatred, slewe him.

But what thinke you? who were to be blamed for these cruell actes? He for doing thẽ, or others for flat tring hi, or the Senate ãd people of Rome in suffring him? Surely ther is none of them to be excused, but all to be blamed, and chiefly those that might haue bridled him, and did not.

He is a good citezin, that dothe non euil (saieth a noble wiseman) but he is a better that letteth others, that they shall not doo hurt nor vniustice to others. The blood of innocentes shalbe demaunded not only at the handes of the sheaders of blood, but also of those that make or consent to wicked lawes, to condemne innocentes, or suffre their head to kill them contrary to iust lawes, or to spoile them of that they iustly enioie by the ordre of the lawe.

Now sithe kinges, princes, and gouernours of common wealthes haue not nor can iustly clayme any absolute autoritie, but that thende of their autoritie is determined and certain to maintene iustice, to defende the innocent, to punishe the euil. And that so many euilles and mischiefes maie folowe, wher such absolute and (in dede) tirãnical power is vsurped: let vs praie,

that they maie knowe their duetie, and discharge thē selues to God and to the worlde, or elles that those which haue the autoritie to refourme them, maie know and doo their duetie, that the people finding and acknowlageing the benefite of good rulers, maie thāke God for them, and labour euery one to doo their duetie: and that seing the head is not spared, but euillesin it punished, they maie the more willingly absteine frō tyrā= nie and other euil doinges, and do their dueties, and so all glori= fie God.

VVHETHER KINGES, princes, and other politike Gouernours be subiecte to Goddes lawes, and the positiue lawes of theyr countreyes.

HE that noteth the procedinges of princes and gouernours in these our daies, how ambicious they are to vsurpe others Dominiones, and how necligẽt they be to see their owne well gouerned, might thinke, hat they beleue, that either ther is no God, or that he bathe not care ouer the thiges of the worlde: or that they thinke themselues exempt frome Goddes lawes and power. But the wonderfull ouerthrowe of their deuises (whan they thinke themselues most sure and certain) is so manifest, that it is not possible to denye, but that bothe ther is a God, and that he hathe care ouer the thinges of the worlde. And his worde is so playne, that non can gaynsaye, but that they be subiecte and ought to be obedient to Goddes lawes and worde. For the hole decalog and euery part therof is aswell written to kinges, princes, and other publike persones, as to priuate persones. A king maye no more committe Idolatrie, than a priuat man: he maye not take the name of God in vayne, he maye not breake the Sabbat, no more than any priuate man. It is not laufull for him to disobeye his parẽtes, to killany persone contrary to the lawes, to be an hooremõger,

to ſteale, to lye and beare falſe witneſſe, to deſire and couet any mannes houſe, wife, ſeruaunt, mayde, oxe, aſſe, or any thing that is an others, more than any other priuate man. No, *he is bounden and charged vnder greater paines to kepe them than any other, bicauſe he is bothe a priuate man in reſpecte of his owne perſone, and a publike in reſpecte of his office, which maye appeare in a great meigny of places whe rof parte I will recite. The holy goſt by the mouthe of a king and prophet, ſaieth:* And now ye kinges vnderſtande, be ye learned that iudge the earthe. Serue the Lorde in feare, and reioi ce &with trembling. Kiſſe the ſonne, that *is, receaue with honour,* leaſt the Lorde be angrie, and ye loſe the waye, whan his wrathe ſhall in a moment be kyndled. *And in an other place thus:* The Lorde vpon thy right hãde shal Smyte and breake in pieces euẽ kinges in the daye of his wrathe. *Eſaias alſo the prophet ſaieth:* The Lorde shal comme to iudgemẽt againſt the princes and elders of the people: *Likewiſe ſaieth the Prophet Micheas ſpeaking to all princes and gouernours vnder the heades of the houſe of Iacob, and the leaders of the houſe of Iſrael:* Heare ye princes and gouernours, *ſaieth Micheas:* Should ye not kno we what were laufull and right? But ye hate the good, and loue the euil, ye plucke of

mennes

mẽnes ſkynnes, and the fleshe from their bones: ye cheoppe them in pieces, as it were in to a Caldron, and as fleshe in to a potte. Now the tyme shall come, that whã ye call vnto the lorde, he shall not heare you, but hyde his face from you, bycauſe that through your owne ymaginationes ye haue dealt ſo wickedly. *And again he ſaieth:* O heare ye rulers and gouernours, ye that abhorre the thing that is lauful, and wraſte aſyde the thing that is ſtraight: ye that builde vp Sion with blood your mageſtie and tirannie with doing &wrong. *For ſo maie Sion and Ieruſalem be well expounded:* O you iudges, ye geue ſentence for giftes: O ye prieſtes, ye teache for lucre: O ye ꝓphetes, ye prophecie for money: yet &will they be takẽ as thoſe that holde vpõ God, and ſaie. Is not the lorde amõg vs? How can than any mysfortune happen to vs? But Sion (*that is, your cities*) for your ſakes shalbe plowed like a fielde: and Ieruſalẽ (*that is, your palaces*) shall become an heape of ſtones, and the hill of the tẽple (*that is, your Monaſteries, frieries, and chauntries*) shall become an high woodde. *The holy gooſt alſo by the mouthe of king Salomon, ſayeth:* Heare O ye kinges, and vnderſtande. O learne ye that

be iudges of the ẽdes of the earthe. Geue eare ye that rule the multitudes, and delyte in muche people. For the power is geuẽ unto you of the lorde, ād the ſtreinght from the higheſt, & who ſhall trye your workes, and ſearche out your ymaginaciones, how that ye being officers of his kingdom haue not kept the lawe of righteouſneſſe nor & walked after his will. Horribly and that ſone ſhall he appeare vnto you, for vpõ the moſt high, he will execute moſt ſeuere iudgement. Mercie is graunted unto the ſimple, but they that be in autoritie, ſhalbe ſore punished. For God which is lorde ouer all, ſhall except no mannes perſon, neither ſhall he regarde any mannes greatnes for he hathe made the ſmall and great and careth for all alike, but the mightie ſhall haue the ſorer punishement. To you therfore (O princes) doo I ſpeake, that ye maye learne wiſdome, and not offende.

Theſe ſaienges nede no particular examples to confirme them, but loke on all gouernours and rulers named in the hole Bible, or in any other hiſtorie: and among all ye ſhall finde, that non hathe eſcaped Goddes punishement, but alwayes their iniquitie hathe ben plaged in them ſelues or their poſteritie.

The cauſe and maner of king Saules *punishemẽt*

and

and extinguishing of his posteritie, is more commonly knowne, than nedeth any rehearsall. Roboam bicause he wold reigne as a tyranne and not be subiecte to lawe nor counsail, hade ten tribes of his kingdome taken frō him, and geuen to Ieroboam: who also forasmuche as he contented not him selfe to be subiecte to Goddes written worde and lawe, but fell to his owne Idolatrous inuenciones, and caused his subiectes to folowe his procedinges: was so stripped from the enheritaunce of his crowne, that his sede was vtterly rooted out.

The ende of Achab and Iesabel is well ynough vnderstanden. And kyng Ioram for his stout stryuing against Goddes lawes and the ordre of his countrey was so sore striken of the lorde with horrible diseases, that at leyngth his guttes for extreme anguish flewe out of his bely. But wherto bring I out paticular examples of Goddes plagues and punishementes vpon kinges and princes that wold not be subiecte to Goddes lawes, and the lawes of nature, seing the hole body of the Bible, and writers of prophane histories be full of them?

Therfore seing no king or gouernour is exempted from the lawes, hande, and power of God, but that he ought to feare and tremble at it, we maye procede to the other part of the question: that is, whether kinges, princes, and other gouernours ought to

be obedient and subiecte to the positiue lawes of their countrey. To discusse this question, the right waye and meane is as in all other thinges, to resorte to the fountaynes and rootes, and not to depende on the ryuers and braunches. For as if men should admyt, that the churche of Rome were the catholike churche, and the pope the head of it, and Goddes onely vicare in earthe, and not seke further how he cometh by that autoritie: than could noman saie, but that all his doinges (were they neuer so wicked) should seme iust: so if men should buylde vpon thauthoritie that kinges and princes vsurpe ouer their subiectes, and not seke from whens they haue theyr autoritie, nor whether that which they vse, be iuste, ther could be nothing produced to let their cruell tyrannye. But forasmuche as we see from whence all politike power and autoritie cometh, that is, from God: and why it was ordained, that is, to mayntene iustice: we ought (if we will iudge rightly) by Goddes worde examine to trie this mater.

Saint Paule treating who should doo obedience, and to whom obedience should be done, saieth: Let euery soule be subiecte to the powers that rule, for ther is no power but of God. Ther are that wolde haue this worde, Soule, taken for man, not as he consisteth of soule and body bothe together, but onely of the flesshe: and that so by the worde (Soule) should be vnderstanden onely a worldly man, that is, a laye man or temporall man (as we terme it)

me it) and not a ſpiritual man and a miniſter of the churche. &wher vpon Antichriſt, the bishop of Rome ſeking for ſubiectes to be vnder his kingdom, hathe takē for his ſubiectes the cleargie with tagge and ragge that to them belongeth: and hathe made lawes, that they should be his ſubiectes, obedient to him and not to the politike power and autoritie, wher vnto he leaueth for ſubiectes onely the temporaltie.

But in ſcripture this worde (Soule) is taken for euery kinde of mā, as may appeare whā it ſaieth, that all the ſoules (that is, man and womā) that were in the arke with Noe, were eight. And that all the ſoules of the houſe of Iacob, which cam in to Egipt were lxx. In which nombres it can not be denyed, but that ther were as holy and as ſpirituall perſones, as any are or were in the kingdome of the bishop of Rome. And Chriſoſtome (a prieſt) expounding this texte (Let euery ſoule be ſubiecte to the higher powers) ſayeth: yea if thow be an apoſtle, an euangeliſt, a prophet, or what ſo euer thow art: for this ſubiection deſtroieth not religion. So that it can not be denyed, but by this worde (Soule) is comprehended, euery perſone, and none excepted. Now touching this worde (Power) ſome wold haue it interpreted for all thoſe perſones that execute iuſtice, be he kaiſer, king, mayre, Sherif, conſtable, borſeholder, or neuer ſo lowe: and ſome wolde haue it to be interpreted only of kinges ād chiefeſt officers. But it is here to be

taken for the miniſterie and autoritie, that all officers of iuſtice doo execute: and ſo it maie appeare by Chriſtes owne wordes, wher he ſaieth: The kinges of the naciones rule ouer them, and thoſe that exercice thautoritie or power, be called gracious Benefactours, or well doers. For as all men and women that ſeme to lyue together in the holy ordinaunce of Matrimonie, be not man and wife, for it maie be, that the man hathe an other wife liuing or the wife other an huſbande, or that they came not together for the loue of God only, and to auoide ſinne, but for ſenſualitie, and to get riches, and ſo thordinaunce it ſelf is one thing, and the perſones, that is, the man and womon an other: euen ſo is the politike power or autoritie beīg thordinaūce and good gifte of God, one thīg, and the ꝑſone that executeth the ſame (be he kīng or kaiſer) an other thing. The ordinaūce being godly, the man may be euil and not of God, nor come therto by God, as the Prophet Oſee ſaieth: They haue made them a king, and not through me: a prince, and not through my counſail and will.

Neither is that power and authoritie which kinges, princes, and other miniſtres of iuſtice exercice, only called a power: but alſo thauthoritie that parentes haue ouer their children, and maiſters ouer their ſeruauntes, is alſo called a power: and neither be the parentes nor maiſters the power it ſelf, but they be miniſtres and executours of the power, being geuen

vnto them by God: &which alſo S. Paule in an other place plainly sheweth, ſaieng to Titus: &warne them to be ſubiecte to the principalities ād powers. &which ſome interprete, princes and powers, to make a diſtinctiō betwene the miniſter and the Miniſterie. And it foloweth: to obey thofficers, ſo that alwaies the difference maie be perceaued. So than if by this worde (Soule) is ment euery perſon ſpiritual and temporal, man and woman: and by this worde (power) thautoritie that kinges and princes execute, than can not kinges and princes, but be conteined vnder this general worde (Soule) as well as others. And they being but executours of Goddes lawes, and mennes iuſt ordinaunces, be alſo not exempted from them, but be bounden to be ſubiecte and obedient vnto them. For good and iuſte lawes of man be Goddes power and ordinaunces, and they are but miniſters of the lawes, ād not the lawes ſelf. And if they were exēpt from the lawes, and ſo it were lauſull for them to doo what them luſteth, their autoritie beīg of God, it might be ſaied, that God allowed their tyrānie robbery of their ſubiectes, killīg thē without lawe, ād ſo God thautor of euil: which were a great blaſphemie. Iuſtiniā thēperour well cōſidered, whan he made this ſaieng to be put into the body of the lawes. It is a worthy ſaieng (ſaieth he) for the Maieſtie of him that is ī autoritie, to cōfeſſe that the prīce is ſubiecte to the lawes, thauthoritie of the prīce dothe ſo muche

depende

depende on thautoritie of the lawes. And certainly it is more honour than the honour of the empire, to ſubmitte the principalitie vnto the lawes. For in dede lawes be made, that the wilfull ſelf will of men should not rule, but that they should haue a line to leade them, as they might not goo out of the waie of iuſtice: and that (if any wolde ſaie, they did them wrong) they might alledge the lawe for their waraunt and autoritie. It is alſo a principle of all lawes grounded on the lawe of nature, that euery man should vſe him ſelf and be obedient to that lawe, that he will others be bounden vnto. For otherwiſe he taketh awaye that equalitie (for ther is no difference betwene the head and foote, concerning the vſe and benefite of the lawes) wherby common wealthes be maintened and kept vp. &what equalitie (I beſeche you) should ther be, wher the ſubiecte should doo to his ruler all the ruler wolde: and the ruler to the ſubiecte, that the ruler luſted?

The good emperour Traianus (whom for his iuſt behaueour, the Senate of Rome toke to be a God) being in poſſeſsion of his office, and minding to shewe, that he was not ordained to be a tiranne, but to ſee the people well gouerned, and that, albeit he was the miniſter of the lawes, yet was he ſubiecte to the lawes, toke a ſweorde, and gaue it to the Captain of the horſemen, and ſaied: Take this ſweorde, uſe it for me againſt

mine

mine enemies in iuſt cauſes: and if I my ſelf doo not iuſtly uſe it, than uſe it againſt me.

Zaleuchus *the ruler and maker of lawes to the* locres, *whan he made this lawe, that an aduouterour should be puniſhed with the loſſe of bothe his eies, and his ſonne hade offended the ſame, albeit the people made great interceßion, that his paines might be pardoned him, he wold not conſent vnto it, but pulling out one of his ſonnes eies, to fulfill and kepe the lawe, he ſuffred one of his owne eies alſo to be pulled out.*

But thow wilt ſaie: &what haue we to doo with Ethnikes? *&why should we be ordred by* Ethnikes doinges? *I anſwer, that whan* Ethnikes *doo by nature that thow art bounden alſo to doo, not only by nature, but by the lawes of* God *and man, ſuch* Ethnikes *shall ryſe in the vniuerſal iudgement, to accuſe the, and worke thy condemnacion.* The *biſhop of* Romes *lawes (which albeit he vſe not in him ſelf, yet will he haue them practiced in others) ſaye thus:* It is requiſite and iuſt, that a prince obeie his owne lawes. For than maie he loke that others shall kepe his lawes, whan he him ſelf hathe them in honour. Iuſtice will, that princes be obedient aud bounden to their owne lawes, and that they can not in their owne doinges condem-

ne

ne those lawes which they prescribe unto others. Thauthoritie of their sayeng is iust and indifferent, if that thei suffre not them selues to doo that they prohibite unto their people. *This saieth the bishop of Romes lawe. And vpon this principle after in the great general counsail of* Lateran, *&which pope* Innocent *the thirde helde, it may seme, it was ordained and decreed (as they saie) that whan kinges and princes that knowlaged no superiour, should fall out among them selues, or should misuse their power and autoritie ouer their subiecttes, that than the matier should be hearde ād corrected by the bishop of* Rome

But here it maie be asked, who did this iustice on kinges and princes before that time, sith it was but than cōmitted to the bishop of Rome? *To that at this time we shall not nede to answer, for that we doo not seke presētly to knowe who should be iudge, but onely to declare and proue, that kinges and princes ought, bothe by* Goddes *lawe, the lawe of nature, mannes lawes, and good reason, to be obedient and subiecte to the positiue lawes of their countrey, and maie not breake them, and that they be not exempt from them, nor maie dispense with them, onles the makers of the lawes geue them expresse autoritie so to doo.*

&who shalbe the kinges iudges, hereafter thow shalt heare.

IN

IN &WHAT THINGES, AND how farre ſubiectes are bounden to obeie their princes and gouernours.

AS THE BODY OF MAN IS KNIT and kept together in due proporciō by the ſinewes, ſo is euery cōmū wealthe kept ād maītened in good ordre by Obedience. But as if the ſinowes be to muche racked ād ſtretched out, or to muched shrinked together, it briedeth wonderfull paines and deformitie in mānes body: ſo if Obediēce be to muche or to litell in a common wealthe, it cauſeth muche euil and diſordre. For to muche maketh the gouernours to forget their vocacion, and to uſurpe vpon their ſubiectes: to litel briedeth a licencious libertie, and maketh the people to forget their duetie. And ſo bothe waies the common wealthe groweth out of ordre, and at leinght cometh to hauocke and vttre deſtruction,

Some ther be that will haue to littel obedience, as the Anabaptiſtes. For they bicauſe they heare of a chriſtian libertie, wolde haue all politike power taken awaye: and ſo in dede no obedience.

Others (as thengliſhe papiſtrs) racke and ſtretche out obedience to muche, and wil nedes haue ciuile power obeied in all thinges, and that what

what so euer it commaundeth, without respecte it ought and must be done. But bothe of them be in great errours. For thanabaptistes mistake christian libertie, thinking that men maye liue without sinne, and forget the fall of man, wherby he was brought in to suche miserie, that he is no more hable to rule himself by him self, than one beast is hable to rule an other: and that therfore God ordained ciuile power (his ministre) to rule him, and to call him backe, whan so euer he should passe the limites of his duetie, and wold that an obedience should be geuen vnto him.

And the papistes neither considre the degrees of powers, nor ouer what thinges ciuile power hathe autoritie, ne yet how farre subiectes ought to obeye their gouernours. And this they doo not for lacke of knowlage, but of a spiritual malice, bicause it maketh against their purpose, that the truthe should be disclosed.

If any christian prince should goo about to redresse the abuses of the Sacraments (brought in and deuised by the papistes to maintẽe their kingdome) to correcte their abominable life, their hooredome, buggery, dronkenesse, pride, and suche like vices: than is he an other Ozias, an other Osa, an heretike, a schismatike, cursed from toppe to too, with boke, bell, and candle, as blacke as a potte side: no obedience of the subiectes ought to be geuen vnto him. But if

he be

he be contented to wynke at their abominaciones, to runne with them, to dishonour God, to commit idolatrie, to kill the true ministers and confessours of Christ, to destroye the poore innocētes which abhor the papistes wicked vices, and be desirous that Goddes kingdome should be promoted: than is he an other Ezechias, a Iosias, a catholike prince, a deare sonne of the churche, the protectour of the churche, the defendour of the faithe, the fosterour of the churche, a confessour while he lyueth, after his deathe a saynt (yea a saint deuil) canonized with Ora pro nobis: whan Beelzebub daunceth at his Dirige.

Suche a one (saie they) must be obeyed in all thinges, none maie speake against his procedinges, for he that resisteth the power, resisteth thordinaunce of God, and he that resisteth, purchaceth to himself damnaciō: as though to leaue euil vndone, and to doo good, were to resiste the power. And here also they wryng this sayeng of S. Petre (Seruauntes obeie your maisters, although they be froward and churlishe) to free subiectes vnder a king: as if bounde men and free men were all one, and kinges and bondemens lordes hade like authoritie. So with violent wringing and false applyeng of Goddes healthe geuing worde, Caiphas and Herode ryde cheke by cheke, and walke arme in arme, with bothe the sweordes and crosse before them. Frende to the one, frende

to bothe : and he that is an heretike with Caiphas, must be a traitour to Herode:

Thus they goo about to bleare mennes eies to confirme and encreace their deuillishe kingdome. But popishe prelates practices are no warraunt to discharge a christian mannes conscience. He must seke what God will haue him doo, and not what the subtiltie and violēce of wicked men will force him to doo. He maye not robbe petre to clothe Paule, nor take from God his due to geue it vnto ciuile power: neither maie he make confusion of the powers, but yelde vnto euery one that is his due, nor yet obeyeng the inferiours commaundement, leaue the commaundement of the highest vndone. Yelde vnto Cesar, those thinges that be Cesares (sayeth Christ) and vnto God, those thinges that be Goddes. Ciuile power is a power and ordinaunce of God, appointed to certain thinges, but no general minister ouer all thinges. God hathe not geuen it power ouer the one and the best parte of man, that is, the soule and conscience of man, but onely ouer the other and the worst part of man, that is, the body, and those thinges that belong vnto this temporall life of man.

And yet ouer that parte with thappurtenaunces hathe he not only not geuen man the hole power, and

stripped

stripped him self quite of all thautoritie, but also he hathe reserued to him self the power therof. For we reade, that whan ciuile power (his minister) hathe ben necligent in doing his duetie, or winked at the euil life of the people, God hathe not holden his hande, but hathe whipped and plagued suche people, as he did the Sodomites, Gomorrianes, and diuerse tymes the Iewes.

And in our dayes his hãde is not shortened, but he hathe and daily dothe plage blasphemours, hooremongers, dronkerdes, murtherours, theues, traitours, tyrannes, suche as in mannes sight no man durst or at the least wolde touche: som with incurable plages of their bodye, some with losse of their children, some with losse of their goodes, and some with shamefull deathes.

And contrary wise whan the worldly powers haue violently, tyrannously, ouer sharply, and wrongfully oppressed and condemned innocentes, God (to testifie that he hathe also power of the body) hathe many tymes in all ages myghtily and miraculously deliuered his people from the power of tyrannes: as the Israelites from Pharao, Mardocheus from Aman, Susanna from the lecherous iudges: Sedrach Mesach, and Abednego frõ the burnyng ouen: Daniel from the lyons denne, Petre from Herode, and infinite other examples we

haue in ſcriptures and hiſtories. And the like haue not wanted in our daies alſo, if we will aduiſedly cõſidre the condicion and ſtate of our tyme. So that we ſee God to be the ſupreme power of the hole man, aſwell to punishe as to deliuer at his owne will.

God is the higheſt power, yea the power of powers, frõ him is deriued all power. All people be his ſeruaũtes made to ſerue and glorifie him. All other powers are but his miniſters, ſet to ouerſee that euery one behaue him ſelfe, as he ought towarde God, and to doo thoſe thinges, that he is iuſtly commaunded to doo, by God.

What ſo euer God commaundeth man to doo, he ought not to conſidre the mater, but ſtraight to obeie the commaunder. For we are ſure, what he commaundeth, is iuſt and right: for from him that is all together iuſte and right, no iniuſtice nor wrong can come.

So did Abraham, whan contrary to that ſemed to be right and iuſt (yea contrary to Goddes general commaundement) he made himſelf ready to kill and offre in ſacrifice his onely promiſed ſonne Iſaac, according to Goddes ſpecial commaundement. So did alſo the children of Iſrael, contrary to the general commaundement (Thou shalt not ſteale) robbe and ſpoile the Egipcianes, by Goddes ſpecial commaundement. And ſo did Phinees, who albeit he

were

were no Magiſtrate, yet of a great zeale by the inward mocion of Goddes ſpirit thruſt his ſweorde through thoſe two whom he founde committing Horedome,

But cõtrary in maãnes cõmaundementes, men ought to conſidre the matier, and not the man. For all men what ſo euer myniſterie or vocatiõ they exercice, are but mẽ, and ſo maye erre. & we ſee coũcelles againſt cõcelles, parliamẽtes againſt parliamẽtes, cõmaundemẽt againſt cõmaundement, this daye one thing to morow an other. It is not the mannes waraunt that can diſcharge the, but it is the thing it ſelf that muſt iuſtifie thee. It is the mater that will accuſe thee, and defende thee: acquyte thee, and condemne thee: whan thou ſhalt come before the throne of the higheſt and euerlaſting power, wher no temporal power will appeare for thee, to make anſwer or to defende thee: but thou thy ſelf muſt anſwer for thy ſelf, and for what ſo euer thou haſt done. And therfore chriſten men ought well to conſidre, and weighe mennes commaundementes, before they be haſtie to doo them, to ſee if they be contrarie or repugnaunt to Goddes commaundementes and iuſtice: which if they be, they are cruell and euill, and ought not to be obeyed. & we haue this ſpecial commaundement from God the higheſt power, ofte repeted by the holy gooſt. Forbeare to doo euil, and doo that is good.

S. Paule (the true teacher of obediẽce) teacheth, that ciuile power and princes be not ordayned to be a terrour to thoſe that doo wel but to thoſe that doo euil, ãd will not that mẽ should do what ſo euer the power commaundeth, but ſayeth, wilt thou not feare the power? doo that is good, and thou shalt haue praiſe of it: for it is the miniſter of God ordained for thy benefite, and not to thy deſtruction. But if thou doo that is euil, than feare: for it carieth not the ſweorde in vayne: for it is the miniſter of God, a reuenger and execucionar, to punishe him that shal doo euil. And therfore it is ordayned, that euil might be taken awaye. Men muſt be ſubiecte, not only for feare of punishement, but alſo for conſcience ſake. For not to obeye the power, that defendeth the good and vertuous, and punisheth the euil and wicked, is deadly ſynne, And the ſelf ſame alſo S. Petre teacheth. &wherfore the marke that all men ought to shoote at, is to doo good, and in no wiſe to doo euil, whoſo euer commaundeth it. If the miniſters of the ciuile power commaunde thee to honour and glorifie God, as God wilbe honoured, to defende (with thy perſone and goodes) thy countreye againſt thenemies, to doo ſuche thinges as be for the wealthe and benefite of thy countreye: thou art bounden to doo it: for it is good, and God will haue thee to doo it. And if thou doo it not, thou ſynneſt againſt God,

God, and iuſtly deſeruest the punishement not only of the power, but of euerlasting damnacion But if the miniſters of the ciuile power commaunde thee to diſhonour God, to committe idolatrie, to kill an innocent, to fight againſt thy countrey, to geue or lende that thou hast, to ſuche as mynde the ſubuerſion and deſtruction of thy countrey, or to mayntene them in their &wickedneſſe, thou oughtest not to doo it, but to leaue it vndone: for it is euil, and God (the ſupreme ād higheſt power) will not that thou shouldeſt doo it. Thapoſtles in tyme of perſecution did not onely geue vs an example ſo to doo, whan the worldly powers wolde haue had them to folowe their procedinges, but alſo lefte vs a leſſō ſo to doo. God muſt be obeied (ſaye they) rather than men. And this leſſon euen from the begynning before it was written, was by the holy gooſt printed in mānes heart. &whan Pharao the tyranne commaunded the mydwyues of the Egipcianes, to kill all the male children that should be borne of the Iſraelites wyues: thinke ye, he did only commaunde them? No without doubt. Ye maye be ſure, he commaunded not only vpō threatned paynes, but alſo promiſed them largely: and perchaunce as largely as thoſe doo, that being deſirous of chidren, procure the mydwyues to ſaye, they be with childe, whan their bely is puffed vp with the dropſie or molle, ād hauing bleared the cōmon peoples eies with proceſſioning, Te deum ſinging, and bonefire banketting, vſe all cere-

monies and cryeng out, whileſt an other birdes egge is layed in the neſt. But theſe good mydwiues fearing God (the high power) who hadde commaunded them, not to kill, wolde not obeye this tyranne Pharaoes commaundement, but lefte it vndone.

&whan the loilye quene Ieſabel commaunded, that the prophetes of God should be deſtroyed, that none should be lefte to ſpeake againſt her idoles, but that all men should folowe her procedinges: did Abdias the chief officer to the king her huſbande ſaye, your grace dothe very well to ridde the worlde of thē for thoſe that worship the true liuing God, cannot be but traitours to my ſouerayne lorde and maiſtre the king your huſbande, and to your grace: and it is theſe heretikes, that bewitche and coniure you, that your grace cannot be delyuered of your childe, nor ſlepe quietly in your bedde: let me alone, I will finde the meanes to deſpeche them all, only haue your grace a good opinion of me, and thinke I am your owne? No. Abdias (a man fearing God, and knowing this commaundement to be a wicked womans will) did cleane contrary to her commaundement, and hidde and preſerued an hundred of the prophetes vnder the earthe in caues. &whan the wicked king Saul commaunded his howne houſeholde wayters and familiar ſeruauntes to kill the prieſt Ahimelech and his children for hatred to Dauid: did thoſe his owne nereſt wayting ſeruauntes flattre him forewarde, and ſaye: your Maieſtie

Maieſtie ſhall neuer be in ſauetie and quiet ſo long as this traitour and his prating children (that are alwayes in their ſermones and bokes, meddling of the kinges maters) be ſuffred to lyue? we wilbe your true obedient ſeruauntes, we will beleue as the king beleueth, we will doo as the king biddeth vs, according to our moſt bounden ductie of allegeaunce, we ſhall ſone eaſe your highneſſe of this grief: other of your graces chaplaynes be more mete for that rowme than this hipocrite traitour? No. they vſed no ſuche court crueltie, but conſidering God to be the ſupreme power, and ſeing Ahimelech (by his anſweres) and his houſeholde to be giltles of ſuche mater in forme and intent as (by Doeges accuſation) Saul charged him with all, they refuſed to kill any of them, or ones tolaye violent handes vpon them, but playnly and vtterly (being yet the kinges true ſeruauntes and ſubiectes) denyed to obeye the kinges vnlauſull commaundement. And whan the ſame hipocrite Saul commaunded his ſeruauntes or ſouldiours to kill noble Ionathas his ſonne, who for neceſſitie hade taken a litel honie to recouer his ſtreinght contrary to the king his fathers commaundement: did they ſaie, let vs kill him as we be willed, ſo ſhall ſome of vs be made the kinges lieutenaunt, we ſhalbe an ynche nerer to the ſucceſſion, we ſhall haue his landes, poſſeſſiones, goodes and offices parted

amõg vs: let vs not ſticke to doo it. &whan he is deſpe
ched out of the worlde, he can make no reuenge, for
dead men doo no harme. No, no, cleane cõtrary. They
knewe that innocent Abels bloud did crie to the
lorde, Vengeaunce, uengeaunce, uengea-
unce. And that albeit Cain hade a marke, that no
man might laufully kill him in this life, yet hangeth
he now (as good writers ſaie) in chaines in hell. And
therfore they wolde not obeie the wicked and cruel ti-
rannes commaundement, but knowing that God
will not haue innocentes bloods head, but innocentes
againſt tyrannes defended, they toke vpon them the
defenſe of the good ſonne againſt the tyrannicall hi-
pocrite and vnnatural father.

Iulian themperour, albeit he were an Apoſtata
from Chriſt, and a great perſecutour of Chriſtes
churche, yet hade he vnder him ſouldiours that pro-
feſſed Chriſt. &whan he commaunded them to ſet fore-
warde to fight for the defenſe of the common weal-
the, they obeied him, and did it willingly: but did they
before they were commaũded, ſeke for the chriſtianes,
and bring them to the one and twentie Commiſſiona-
res, or to the biſhoppes colehouſe? or whan he willed
and commaunded them to deſtroye ſuch as wold not
denie Chriſt, and folowe his procedinges, worſhip-
ping idoles: did they bring them to the fire, ãd ſtande
about, that they ſhould not ſpeake? and to ſee, that
none ſhould come nere thẽ, to conforte and ſtreingh-
ten

ten them in their faithe? or whan they ſpake, did they cleaue their headdes in pieces with their halbeardes, or ſtoppe their mouthes with their billes? No, they confeſſed, that in that themperour of heauen thalmighty God (and not thēperour of the earthe a wicked mā, and a rebelle againſt God) was their emperour ād Captai: ād therin they wolde not obeie Iuliā nor doo that he commaunded in that behalfe. And this anſwer bothe S. Ambroſe and S. Auguſtine, yea ād the papiſtes (although they thē ſelues doo not ſo) propounde and ſet furthe for a chriſtē doctrine ād a catholike exāple, how chriſtē ād good ſubiectes shoulde behaue thē ſelues towarde wicked prīces, ād their wicked cōmaundemētes: that is, in no wiſe to obeie thē, but to leaue thē undone. And as mē ought not to obeie their ſuperiours, that shall cōmaunde thē to doo any thīg agaīſt Goddes worde, or the lawes of nature: ſo maie they not doo that they shall cōmaūde thē cōtrary to ciuile iuſtice, or to the hurt of the hole ſtate. Neither will good prīces attēpt or goo about any ſuche thing: for it is the next waie to bring thē out of their ſeates, and to make thē of kinges no kinges. How can that head liue ād cōtinewe, wher the body is cōſumed ād diſſolued? And how cā that body be luſtie, wher the ſinowes (the lawes) are broken, and iuſtice (the marie that should nouriſhe it) vtterly waſted and decaied?

Antiochus the thrid, king of Siria wrote thus to all the cities of his dominion, that if he did cō

maunde

maunde any thing that should be contrary to the lawes, they should not passe theron, but that rather they should thinke, it was stollen or forged without his knowlage, considering that the prince or gouernour is nothing elles but the minister of the lawes. And this same saieng of this most noble king semed to be so iuste and reasonable, that it is taken for a common principle, how subiectes should knowe, whan they should doo that they be commaunded, and whan they ought not.

Likewise a bishop of Rome, called Alexander the thrid, wrote to an Archebishop, to doo a thing which semed to the Archebishop to be vnreasonable and contrary to the lawes, the pope perceauing that tharbishop was offended with his writing, and wolde not doo that he required: desired him not to be offended, but that if ther were cause, why he thought he should not do that he required, he wolde aduertise him, and he therwith wolde be satisfied.

This is a popes saieg: which who is so hardy dardie to denie to be of lesse autoritie than a lawe? yea not felowe, but aboue Goddes worde? &wher vpon this is a general rule, that the pope is not to be obeied, but in laufull and honest thinges; And so by good Argument from the more to the lesse, that princes (being but foote stooles and stirrop holders to popes) commaunding their subiectes that is not godly, not iuste, not laufull, or hurtefull to their countrey, ought not

to be

to be obeied, but withstanden. For the subiectes ought not (against nature) to further their owne destructiō, but to seke their owne saluacion: not to maintene euil but to suppresse euil : for not only the doers but also the consentours to euil , shalbe punished, saie bothe Goddes and mannes lawes. And men ought to haue more respecte to their countrey, than to their prince: to the common wealthe, than to any one persone. For the countrey and common wealthe is a degree aboue the king. Next vnto God men ought to loue their countrey, and the hole common wealthe before any membre of it: as kinges and princes (be they neuer so great) are but membres: and common wealthes mai stande well ynough and florishe , albeit ther be no kinges, but contrary wise without a common wealthe ther can be no king. Common wealthes and realmes may liue, whan the head is cut of, and may put on a newe head, that is , make them a newe gouernour, whan they see their olde head seke to muche his owne will and not the wealthe of the hole body , for the which he was only ordained. And by that iustice and lawe, that lately hathe ben excuted in Englande (if it maie be called iustice and lawe) it should appeare, that the ministers of ciuile power doo somtimes commaunde that, that the subiectes ought not to doo.

&whan the innocent Lady Iane contrary to her will, yea by force , with teares dropping downe her chekes, suffred her self to be called Quene of Englande

glande: yet ye see, bicause she consented to that which was not by ciuile iustice lawfull, she ād her husbande for company suffred the paines of Traitours, bothe headles buried in one pitte.

&whan the blessed mā of God, Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorbury did what he might to resiste to subscribe to King Edwardes will, wherby his two sisters, the ladies Mary and Elizabeth should haue ben wrongfully disherited: yet bicause he afterwarde (to contēt the kinges minde and commaundement, yea in dede to saue the innocent king from the uiolēce of most wicked traiterous tirannes) did subscribe vnto it against his will: was it not laied vnto him by the wicked Iudge Morgā (whom God not long after plaged with taking awaie his wittes that was a foole before) that he ought not to doo any thing unlawfull, bi commaundemēt of any power? And so he (an innocent) piked out among a great nombre of very euil doers (to satisfie the lawe) was condemned as a traitour before he suffred as a martir. &were not the ymages ād Roodeloftes in Englande destroied by autoritie of ciuile power? And dothe not Boner the Archbocher of londō for all that force them that obeied the authoritie (bicause he saieth, it was not lawful) to make thē vp agaī at their owne charges? But Boner, thou that allowest nothing to be well done (by what so euer autoritie it be done) except it be lawfull, nor nothing to be lawfull,

ſtill that is not agreing to thy Canon lawes: I haue to ſaie to thee. Stãde ſtil a while, whileſt I rubbe the. Tell me plainly, and face not out a lie, as thou arte wont: ſpeake not one thing, and thinke an other, as thy nature is: ones in thy life tell the truthe, and shame thy maiſter the deuil. If thou were the ſonne of the earthe by thy fathers ſide, and of an erraunt hoore by the mother, and ſo a baſtarde: by what autoritie ſaieſt thou thy maſſe, whan thy lawes ſuffre no baſtardes to be prieſtes without diſpenſacion? how comeſt thou to be a biſhop, whan thy lawes ſaie, thou maieſt be no prieſt? How be thy iudgementes laufull, whan thou by thy Canones maieſt be no iudge? All men knowe, that thy mother whan thou waſt begoten, was an hoore.

The common voice and fame ſaieth, and the truthe is, that albeit one Boner (a bare whippe Iacke) for lucre of money toke vpon him to be thy father, and than to mary thy mother, yet thou waſt perſone Sauages baſtarde: and of that race come thy Couſins &wimmeslowe thy Archediacon of london (a mete eie for ſuche a groſſe head) and &wimſlowe his brother, and a great meany moo notable. Theſe thinges be ſo euident ãd plaine, that thou canneſt not (without bluſhing) denie them: neither thou wilt (I knowe) denie thẽ. For thou boaſteſt ãd braggeſt muche, that thou comeſt of gentil blood.

But thou wilt ſaye, thou haſt a bull of diſpẽſacion from

from the pope. I require to knowe, what time it was graunted. Thou saiest, whan thou wast at Rome. It is euen that I requiered. Thou wast in dede at Rome, proctour for the princes dowager the Quenes mother, in the cause of diuorce betwene King Henry the viij. and her.

&whan thou sawest that no prebendes, no Archediacõries, no bishoprikes were to be goten by continuing on her parte, thou betraiedest her cause, and becamest of Counsail with the king. O noble counsaillour. O seuere and lawfull iudge.

A mete man to sit in condemnacion of so many innocentes: yea more mete to stande on the pillarie, than in a pulpit: to be tied vp in a boare franke, than walke in a princes chambre: to weare a Tiburne tippet, than a graie amise. But what if thou haue no dispensacion? &what a murtherour art thou of true Englishe men? &what a tormentour of the people of God? How haste thou deceaued the Erles of Oxeforde and Sussex, the Lorde Riche, the Maires and Sheriffes of London, and many other of the nobilitie, gentilmen, and Commones, forceing them to washe their handes in innocentes blood with thee? what consciences maie they haue through thee? How canneste thou salue their wounded soules? But thou wilt saie, it maketh no matier. The cleargie is faire ridde of a great meany of enemies. A dead man can doo no hurt. But be thou certain, thou wilt be

deceaued

deceaued. &what ſo euer becometh of thy bocherly bo= dy I wishe thy ſoule to be ſaued. Repent therfore in tyme: become Paule of Saul.

&whan the prince of Sebech called Adoniſebech cut of the handes and fete of Seuentie kinges, and ma= de them lyue by licking vp the cromes that fell vnder his table, he thought thoſe poore maymed men could doo him no hurt: but God payed him home. For he him ſelf hade his handes and fete cut of, and was forced to pike vp cromes vnder the table, as he hade forced the other kinges.

King Abimelech cauſed his thre ſcore and tē brethren by the father ſide, to be all killed, bicauſe he might reigne alone: he thought all was Cocke, and ſo did they that holpe him to execute ſo horrible an a= cte. But what? did they eſcape? No. God ſuffred the deuil to make diſcorde betwene the king and his deare dearlinges, and firſt thei were iuſtly deſtroied by their king, and after he him ſelf hauing his head broken with a pece of a ſtone lette fall out of a weake wo= mans handes, for shame willed his ſeruaunt to kill him with a ſweorde, that it should not be reported, a wo= man hade killed him. King Achab and Quene Ie= ſabel thought non should reuenge poore Nabo= thes deathe: but contrary to their expectacion, by Goddes iuſtice, dogges sloſed and licked vp the blood of them bothe. Quene Athalia thought her ſelf ſure whan she had killed al the kinges progenie, but God

ſerued her with the like ſawce: she reigned not long, but she was killed. All the miſerie and miſchief in the Realme of Naples came by a woman, called Quene Ioane (a woman of muckle luſt) who after she hade ben a while maried to a noble gentilman, and waxed weary of his worke, cauſed him to be hanged out of an open galerie in the toppe of the houſe (bicauſe noman should ſee him) and not after the poore theues maner with an halter of hempe, but with a rope of golde & wrought with her owne and her ſiſters Madam Marimalecaſta her owne fyngers. She triumpheth for a while, and after beſides an vnſpeakeable nombre of pryuie mariages she made foure by daye in a litle ſpace, but at leyngth God plageth her, and she was hanged in that place, wher she before hanged her huſbande.

& whan thoſe that conſpired the deathe of the two brethren, the Admiral and the Protectour hade brought it to paſſe, ſo as they might robbe the king, and ſpoile the Realme at their pleaſure: did they at leyngth eſcape ſcotte free? No. Som of them by the iuſte iudgement of God were plaged with the like punishemēt, with the ſame axe, vpon the ſelf ſame blocke and in the ſame place. And the reſt hereafter are not vnlike without repentaunce (which they shewe not) to receaue their rewardes, either in them ſelues or their poſteritie. O wonderfull workes, O iuſt iudgement of God, that hateth thoſe that doo euil,

and destroyeth those that worke mischief: that abhorreth blood thirstie people, and those that haue double hartes and treble tongues.

But Boner, I maye not leaue thee thus. Geue me leaue (Sauage Boner) to dispute this mater of laufull and not laufull, a litle more with thee. If thou and the rest of the traitours thy cõpaniones should persuade the frẽdeles Quene of England (whõ ye haue enchaũted) to geue ouer the towne of Calese and Barwike to a straunge prince, and (contrary to her othe not to diminishe any parte of the rightes of the Crowne and liberties of the people, which kinges of England at their Coronacion in tymes past made, and which she also made to her subiectes, & whan she was crowned before she was a perfit Qũene) she folowed your counsail, and som noble personage sent thider to deliuer the keyes, aud the deputie and garison did not strike of the messagiers head, and set it on the gates, but obeyed it, and not resisted it: wer not thou ãd thi felowes traitours for pswading her so doo? hade not she broken her othe and promyse? were not thattournay a traitour for doing that he was commaunded? & were not the deputie and garison traitours for suffring it to be done? Answer. & what canneft thou saie for thy self and thy folowes? Giltie, or not giltie? Thou standeft mewet, & what not a worde? Thou art sure, your good will, will

ſtande you in as good ſtede, as the dede done. Neither doo ye paſſe, though the crowes be fedde with your carion carcaſes, and the deuil with your ſoules, ſo ye maye leaue behinde you a fame, that by your traytourie, the laitie of Englād was deſtroyed, and the ſpiritualtie reſtored to their pompe and lordly power.

But before the halter ſtoppe thy winde, Boner, let vs knowe, what thou canſt ſaye for her. Sayeſt thou, princes be not bounden by theyr othes and promiſſes? ynough. &what for the reſt? let them remembre that not lōg agoo their neighbour Mōſieur Veruin, Captain of Boloigne was punished as a traitour, for that by neceßitie and extremitie of force he rēdred vp Boloigne to king Hēry theight and did not die in the defenſe of it: But thou wilt ſaie, he did it without commaundement of his meiſter: and theſe ſhall doo it by cōmaundement of their maiſtres. But what if the commaundement be not laufull? doeſt thou not ſaie thy ſelf, it is not to be obeied? Thou ſaieſt to others, that non maie do that is not laufull for any commaundement. But thou wilt ſaie: it is the Quenes owne, and she maye laufully doo with her owne what she luſteth. &what if it be denyed to be her owne? But thou wilt ſaie: she hathe the crowne by enheritaunce, and maie diſpoſe of the realme, and euery parte of the Realme, as pleaſeth her. But I anſwer: that albeit she haue it bi enheritaunce, yet she hathe it with

it with an othe, lawe and condicion to kepe and mayn tene it, not to departe with it or diminishe it. If she ha ue no more right to the Realme than her father ha= de, and her father as muche as euer ani king of Eng= lande: what neded he to require the consent of the Nobilitie and commons (by parliament) to geue the Crowne to his daughter or any other?

But thou will saie, it was more than neded: for without consent of the parliamēt, he might doo with the Realme ād eucripte therof, what it pleased him. Take hede what thou sayest. If that be true, that king Henry might do with it without cōsent of the parlia= ment: how is the Ladi mari Quene? & why might not King Edwarde his some (a prince borne in lausull matrimonie, and right heire to the Crowne) bequeathe the Crowne wher he wolde, and as he did? Take hede what thou doest. If the king and Quene geue thee a thousaūt perdones, yet shalt thou be foun de a ranke Traitour to the Realme of Englande. For albeit the king or Quene of a realme haue the Crow= ne neuer iustly, yet maye they not dispose of the Crowne or realme, as it pleaseth them. They haue the Crowne to ministr iustice, but the Realme being a bo di of free men and not of bondemen, he nor she can not geue or sell them as slaues and bondemen. No, they can not geue or sell awaye the holdes and fortes (as Calese and Barwike, or suche like) without the consent of the Commones: for it was purchaced

with their blood ād moneie. Yea ād thine owne popes lawes (wherby thou measureſt all thiges to be laufull or not laufull) ſaie, that if a kig or gouernour of any realme goo about to diminiſhe the regalities ād rightes of his crowne, he ought to be depoſed. Thus did Pope Honorius the thrid cōmaunde tharchebiſhop of Colloſſa ād his ſuffraganes to depriue a kig of Vngarie, which wēt about to waſte, ſell ād geue awaye the Regalities ād rightes of his crowne, onles in tyme he ceaſſed ād called backe that he hade done. It is ſo plaine, thou canſt not denie it. But I ſee, Boner, I haue chafed thee to muche: thi chekes blushe ād ſwell for very āgre. M.D. Cheadſei, M.D. Pēdletō, M. Coſins, or ſō of you Chaplaines, get my lorde a cup of ſecke, to cō fort his ſpirites My lorde ād I agree almoſt like belles: we iarre ſōwhat but not muche, his lordship meaneth that mē ought to be alwaies but not at all tymes honeſt. But I ſaie, thei muſt be honeſt alwaies ād at al tymes. His lordeship wolde fayne haue a placarde or prouiſo for hī ād his, that they might ſōtimes (that is frō the begīnig to thēde of the weke) plaie their partes. But I ſaie, albeit his lordship haue ſuche a priuilege, yet maie no honeſt mā at any tyme doo that is not honeſt, iuſte, ād laufull, bi kaiſers, kīges, Quenes no, neither his cōmaundement. For if thoſe thinges which only in mennes opiniones ſeme to be vnlaufull maye by no autoritie be done, and thoſe that doo thē, be no leſſe to be puniſſhed, than if they had done them without autoritie: how muche leſſe maye ſuche thin-

ges by any commaundement be committed, that are in dede vnlaufull: but ſhalbe puniſhed according to the deſertes, by what ſo euer power or autoritie they be executed? Men therfore ought to take hede, that by going about to come out of the ſmoke, they fall not in to the fire: and by pleaſing of men, they runne not in to the diſpleaſure of God. If mennes ordinaunces and lawes, or the gouernours autoritie and commaunde= ment were a ſufficient diſcharge for men to doo what ſo euer were preſcribed or cõmaunded vnto thẽ, tell me (I beſeche thee) why did Eſaias the Prophet ſuffre rather to be ſawed in pieces, than to folowe the procedinges of Manaſſes? why did Daniel not folowe king Darius and his counſailles commaun= dement, forbearing to worſhip the true God: but was content to be caſt to the lyones? why did not the three children, Sadrach, Meſach, and Abednego obeye Nabuchadneſar in worſhipping the gol= den idole, ãd ſo auoide the hotte burnĩg fornace? why did Eleazarus ſubmitte him ſelf to deathe, and not diſſemble? why did he not eate his owne meat, ãd ab= ſteyne frõ porke fleſhe, that the king cõmaunded the Iewes to eat cõtrary to the lawes, ãd ſaye that he ha= de eatẽ it, as his olde truſtye frẽdes of the court coũ= ſailed hĩ? whi did he not ſue for a bul or perdõ of An= tiochus, that he might vſe his owne religiõ, as our En glishe haltĩg goſpellers doo of the pope, cõfeſſing his autoriti, which is the thĩg that he õly paſſeth vpõ: ãd

careth not how many ſoules be ledde to the deuil? &why did not the ſeuen brethrē and their mother obeie the kinges commaundement, and ſaue their lyues and goodes, as thauncient Catharistes. and newe puri ſtes doo, ſaieng: all thinges be pure to the pure, and no Idolatrie nor filthyneſſe can infecte him that is pure and cleane? or why did they not ſaie, as the Priſcianiſtes and Papiſtes did in tyme paſt, and as the marchauntes Hill and Petreſonne with their double tongued traine ād diſſembling ſecte at this preſent ſaie, that it is laufull (and no ſinne) to ſaye one thing and meane an other? to lye with the lyppes, ſo they haue the truthe in the heart? to denye God in wordes and workes, ſo they cēfeſſe him in thought ād mynde? to daunce with the deuil all daye, and lodge with Chriſt at night? why did Paule ſuffre ſo many impriſonmētes, ſo muche beating, ſcourgeing and tormenting? And why at leinght did he not ſaue his life, and folowe Kaiſer Neroes commaundement? &why did not the Prophetes, thapoſtles, and ſo many thouſauntes of martirs folowe the wicked tirannes commaundemētes and procedinges, but reſiſted them, and with their blood teſtified, that they allowed thē not? But all theſe holy mēnes doīges in confeßīg ād obeiēg the higheſt power God, ād not thinferiour powers in wicked ād euil thīges, are cōmēded ād leſte bi the holy gooſte to vs in holi ſchrift to folowe ād doo the like. If mēnes lawes ād cōmaundementes were a ſufficient

waraūt

wtraũt to mẽ, to doo what ſo euer is cõmaũded thẽ: tell me (I praie thee) to what purpoſe is ſuffrig of perſecu ciõ ſo ofte repeted, ſo earneſtly taught, ſo highly com mended in ſcripture? Chriſt ſaieth: He that taketh not up his croſſe and foloweth me, is not mete for me. And again: bleſſed be thoſe that ſuf- fre perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. Bleſ ſed are ye, whan men ſhall curſe you, and perſecute you, and ſpeake all euil againſt you, lieng for my ſake: be glad and reioi- ce, for your rewarde is pleintifull in hea- uen. So did they perſecute the prophetes that were before you. And thapoſtle ſaieth: All that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus, ſhall ſuffre perſecution. And ſo in a great nombre of places of ſcriptures.

By ſuche perſecution can not be ment the iniuries that priuate man dothe to priuate man: for God ha- the ordained a meane, that is, the magiſtrate to re- dreſſe them. But by perſecution is ment the Iniuries and tirannie that the Magiſtrates and gouernours exercice ouer Godles people. For they not contented to let a chriſtian man haue iuſtice in ciuile thinges aga inſt a papiſt, nor an honeſt man againſt ſuche a one as fauoureth their procedinges, doo thẽ ſelues ſpoile the chriſtianes and honeſt of their goodes: and not onely ſpoile them, but by all maner of force, uiolence,

and ſnares ſeke their life and blood , not onely in their owne countrey , but wher they haue non autoritie, bicauſe they will not obeie their commaundements,and folowe their wicked procedinges.

God will haue his tried by perſecucion , that the worlde maie ſee , who loue the chief power , more than the inferiour powers : his commaundementes , more than mennes fonde procedinges:the ſoule, more than the fleſhe : the ſure and euerlaſting enheritaunce of heauen, more than the vncertain and temporal poſſeßiones of this worlde. Yea he hathe non other waie to let the difference appeare to mennes eies betwene his ſeruauntes and princes Paraſites,than only by perſecucion. Papiſtes, Turkes, Iewes, gentiles can diſſemble, they can ſeme to faſt, to praie , to geue almoſe , to builde monaſteries, and chauntries , and to doo notwarde workes gaie to the eie , bicauſe they wold be accompted holy of men , but to refuſe to doo that is euil for iuſtice ſake,to be ſlaundred, ſpoken euil of,whipped, ſcourged, ſpoiled of their goodes, killed of the worldly princes and tirannes , rather than they wolde diſobeie God , and forſake Chriſt: this can neither papiſtes nor Turkes , Iewes nor gentiles , nor non other doo,but onely thelectes of God. And yet God dothe not ſo ſeuerely require of his people, that they ſhould ſtreight offre them ſelues to the princes ſlaughterhouſe,their neckes to the halter, their headdes

to

to the blocke, their blood to make princes puddinges, their entrailles to make tripes, their quartres to be boiled or rosted: but he hathe lefte them a speciall rule and cõmaundement, wherby to guide them selues, that is, in all thinges to seke first the kingdome of God. If he that is persecuted, file in his cõsciẽce, that he maie doo God greater seruice and glorie by suffring than by fleing, he ought rather to suffre a thousaunt deathes, than to flee one foote. But if his conscience witnesse with him that he maie doo God greater glorie by flieng than by tarieng, he ought not to tempt God with tarieng, but is bounden by cõmaundement to departe. If they persecute you in one citie (saieth Christ) flye in to an other. And he did not only teache it, but did it him self, forsaking Iewrie, ãd goĩg into Galile, whã he hearde Iohn Baptist was laied bi the heles, bicause the time was not yet come, wherin he was appointed to glorifie God. And bicause God wolde haue a refuge place, and sanctuarie for his, whan suche tirannie and persecucion should be exerciced, he wolde neuer suffre the power and ambicious tirannes, to make one perfite Monarchie of all, but whan they hade done their best to bring all together, and the string hade bẽ almost in the nicke of the bowe (as the prouerbe is) it hathe sodainly slipt, and not only destroied the doer, but it hathe fallen in to a great meany moo shiuers than euer it was before. Thus God dalieth and plaieth with his puppettes the princelinges of this worlde.

&wer-

wherfore ſence we be Goddes people and ſeruaun-
tes, and he our lorde and the higheſt power: and the
princes of the worlde be but his miniſtres and infe-
riour powers, ordained to doo good and not euil: we
ought to ſeke chiefly to doo Goddes cõmaundementes
before all mennes, to pleaſe God rather than men.
For the princes (doo they the worſt they can) can but
take from men their goodes and liues: but God can
take from vs bothe goodes and bodie, and caſt bothe
body and ſoule in to hell. And yet should not they be
hable to worke their will in this worlde, nor execute
their malice, if men wolde behaue them ſelues towar-
de their lorde and maiſter God, as they ought. For as
he can, ſo wolde he ſone deſpeche the worlde of ti-
rãnes. But bicauſe many be opẽ enemies of God, and
many diſſemblers with God, God ſendeth ãd ſuffreth
euil gouernours (and will ſende worſe) to plage the
people for their iniquitie, and to trie the faithe of his
electe, from whom not one heare of the head can be
taken without Goddes wil. And therfore ſeking al-
waies to do that is good, they should alwayes eſchue
to doo that is euil, and committe thende to God.

But admitte ther be a great nombre that haue
dronken of the hoore of Babilons cuppe, and thinke,
that ther is neither heauen nor hell, and that Goddes
worde is but friers maters: and that therfore (like
Sardanapalus) they should ſeke to eat and drin-
ke, and ſerue their luſtes, and nothing elles: yet were
this

this no ſure waie for them to doo that they wolde, if they should obeie their princes in what ſo euer they commaunded.

The nature of wicked Princes is muche like to the moldewarpes, which if they be ſuffred to haue their ſnowtes in the grounde, and be not furthewith letted, will ſodainly haue in all the body: or to the weſelles, that conueith in his hole body, wher he hathe ones gotenin his head. So they if they be obeied in any euil thing (be it neuer ſo litell) wilbe obeied in all at leinght. &what letteth but that they maie not only ſende for mennes goodes, but for their headdes alſo, as the Turke dothe to his beſt Baſſa, and all his ſubiectes whan it pleaſeth him? &why maie not they ſende for their ſubiectes children, cauſe them to be killed, baked, and geue it to their parentes in ſtrade of other meat: and for a ſeconde courſe bring in to them, the heades, fete, and handes, as king Aſtiages did to Harpagus? All the papir of England wold not ſerue to ſet our the miſchiefes, that might folowe, whā princes euil commaundements should be obeied and fulfilled. But men that be wiſe, maie bi a litell, conſidre the hole.

Seing therfore that God will not princes commaundementes should be obeied in all thinges, but will haue his rather ſuffre a thouſaunt deathes, than do any thing that is euil: and ſence alſo ſo many euilles and miſchiefes may folowe in this life, wher wicked

princes

princes willes maie ſtande for lawes, men ought boā the for Goddes ſake and commaundement abſteine to obeie ſuche commaundementes, and cleaue vnto this Maxime: we muſt obeie God rather than man, for whoſe ſake if we loſe bothe goodes and life, we ought to reioice, that we be called to ſerue him, and not doubt, but as he is hable to recompence it, ſo will he (according to his promiſe) rewarde it. And beſides alſo they ought to conſidre, that princes be ordained for the wealthe and benefite of the people, and not to their deſtruction: to maintene common wealthes, and not to ſubuerte them: which rather than any man ſhould conſent vnto, he ought (being a faithfull mā to his countrey) to abide all loſſes, bothe of body and goodes. For next after God, men be borne to loue, honour, and maintene their countrey.

WHETHER ALL THE SVBiectes goodes be the Kayſers and kinges owne, and that they maie laufully take them as their owne?

THE Anabaptiſtes wreſting ſcripture to ſerue their madneſſe, amõg other ſoule errours, haue this: that all thinges ought to be common, they ymage man to be of that puritie that he was before the fall, that is, cleane without ſinne, or that (if he will) he maie ſo be: and that as whan ther was no ſinne, all thinges were common, ſo they ought now to be.

But this mingling of the ſtate of man before the fall, and of him after the fall muche deceaueth them. For by the fall, ãd euer after the fall, this corruptible fleſhe of man is clogged with ſinne, and ſhall neuer be ridde of ſinne, as long as it is in this corrupt worlde, but ſhalbe alwaies diſpoſed ãd prone to doo that is euil. And therfore as one meanes to be therather vncombred of the heape of ſinne, God ordained that mã ſhould get his liuing by the ſwette of his browes: ãd that he ſhould be the more forced to labour, the diſtinctiõ of thiges ãd propretie (mine, ãd thine) was (cõtrary to platoes opiniõ) ordained, as appeareth by theſe two lawes: Thou ſhalt not ſteale: Thou ſhall not couet thy neighbours wife, nor his ſeruaũt, nor his maide, nor his oxe, nor his Aſſe, nor

any

any thing that is his. Afterwarde in dede ſcripture ſpeaketh of communion of thinges, not that they ought ſo to be (for ſo ſcripture should be directly againſt ſcripture) but that ther was ſuch charitie among the people, that of their owne free will, they gaue and ſolde all they had, to releue the miſerie of their poore brethren: who for impotencie, or for multitude of children, were not with their labour hable to get ſufficient to releue their neceſsitie. Nor of this ſo geuen might euery man take as muche as him luſted, but to euery one (accordig to his neceſsitie) ſufficient was diſtributed. So that it ſtode in the liberalitie of the geuer, and not in the libertie of the taker.

But ther be ſome in theſe daies, not of the meaneſt or pooreſt ſorte, but of the chieſeſt and richeſt: that is, many wicked gouernours and rulers, who in this errour excell the common Anabaptiſtes. For the common Anabaptiſtes doo not onely take other mennes goodes as common, but are content to let their owne alſo be common, which hathe ſom ſmacke of Charitie: for they them ſelues doo non other, but that they them ſelues are content to ſuffre.

But the euil gouernours and rulers will haue all that their ſubiectes haue, common to them ſelues, but they themſelues will departe with nothing, but wher they ought not: no, not ſo muche as paie for thoſe thinges, that in wordes they pretende to buie of their ſubiectes, nor paie thoſe poore men their wages,

whom

whom they force to labour and toyle in their workes. 79
But the maner of coming therby is so diuerse, that it maketh the iustenesse of their doinges muche suspected. For some doo it vnder pretẽse to doo the people good: some by craftie and subtil meanes, colour their doinges: and some of right (but without right) claime them for their owne.

Of the furst sort be those, that put great taxes and imposiciones on drinke, for forasmuch as the people with ouermuch drinking become dronkerdes (and so sinne against God) they wolde seme by making thẽ paye asmuche or more to them as the drinke is worthe, they should force them the rather to absteyne frõ ouermuche drinking, ãd so from sinne. But in this it maye appeare, they seke not abstinence frõ synne, ãd the wealthe of the people, but their owne priuate profit. For if they had their eie to Goddes glorie and the benefite of the people, and the vice to be taken cleane awaie: they wold not croppe of the braũches of the tree, and let the roote growe, but they wolde roote vp the roote that it should no more growe. And sõ of this sort do it to this ẽde, to make thinges better cheape. For (thinke they) if ther were but littell money, thã must thinges be solde better cheape. As though it laye in them to make pleyntie and scarcitie, and as though thone were not the bounteous benefite of God sent to them that feare and loue him: and the other his plage iustly powred on them that hate him.

This kinde of practice was, if not first founde, yet vsed by Emperour Iulian the apostata, a tiranne ād persecutour of the Christianes (as before you haue hearde) who being a subtil man, and not hauing his Coūsailours, souldyours ād subiectes (at his deuocīō) ready to kill whom he wolde of the Christianes (whō he knewe for no priuate cause wolde rebelle) ment by policie to murther them, spoiling them of that they had, and so not leauing them wherwith to buye to releue their necessitie. Saieth this enemie of God: I will vse you after your Christes gospel. For it saieth: blessen be ye poore, for yours is the kingdome of God. And therfore I take from you all that ye haue presently, that ye maie the soner come by that is promised you. Doubtles if this waie were as good ād beneficial for the agentes and doers of it, as it maie be profitable for the subiectes and sufferers: no doubt it were to be desired that it were done out of hande, rather than one minute of an houre differred to be done. For the people from the lesse to the more, from toppe to too, all be geuen to couetousnesse, scraping, snatching and ketching.

And from Pope to the hedge massemōging priest, all be geuen to subtiltie, crafte, lieng, traiterourie, and false dealing. Their heart is so on their halpeny, that neither they consīdre their duetie to God (no they knowe him not) nor remembre how muche they are bounden to their countrey: but vpon a vaine hope

hope to ſaue their owne, are content either them ſelues to betraie their countreie, or to ſuffre it to be betraied of others, and one of them deuoureth ād eateth vp an other, that for a litel while he maie the more liue after his owne luſt: &where contrarie wiſe, pouertie maketh men to remembre, ſeke, and call on God, to loue and defende their countreie, one to loue an other like brothrē, and finally deuiſeth and worketh what ſo euer good is. But none maie pille or polle, robbe or ſpoile, or doo any miſchief (ſaieth thapoſtle) that good maie therof folowe: and ſpecially kinges and gouernours of people, whom bicauſe they be ordained to doo good, and should doo nothing but well, Chriſt called Benefactours and not Malefactours. If they doo it, whileſt they pretende (but meane it not) to bring others to heauen, they maie be ſure to bring them ſelues to hell.

The ſeconde ſorte be thoſe that robbe the people in dede, yet wolde not haue their doinges knowne. They walke in nettes, and thinke no mā dothe ſee thē. And of this kinde be thoſe, that contrary to all lawes (bothe of God and man) and contrary to their othe, counterfaicte the coine that is ordained to runne betwene mā and mā, turning the ſubſtaūce from golde to copper, frō ſiluer to worſe then pewter, ād aduaunceing and diminiſhīg the price at their pleaſure. For in coines all lawes commaunde and equitie will, that theſe foure thinges be obſerued and ſtraightly kept.

First, the pureneſſe of the matier, that it be not corrupted or countrefaicted. Seconde, that it haue the iuſt weight. Thirdly, that it be not clipped. The laſt, that it be not at the princes will ſomtyme priced at a more value, and ſomtyme at a leſſe: For if a prince might doo herein euen what him luſted: how might he not lightly ſpoyle his ſubiectes of all that they haue, or could come by. &which thing the great deuil and cutthrote of Englande (the papiſtes God) in his Sermon that he made at Paules croſſe, vpõ this Theme (now is is the tyme to wake from slepe, my brethren, for now is our ioie and pompe more nye, than whan we before diſſembled to beleue in Chriſt. Be of good cheare, my diſciples, our trouble is paſt, our ioye (at hande) letted not to bluſtre out. In this Sermon to bring the dead innocent and bleſſed king Edwarde (whom for his vertue he hated) in hatred of the people: for he imputed to him (a childe and a warde) the lewde and wicked behaueour of his cruell Counſailours, and ſaied, he maruailed that the people could ſuffre ſo great iniurie, to be robbed of their prince, by altring the coyne from golde to copper, and ſiluer to leade, and to pull it from twelue pence to ſixe pence, and not riſe againſt the king to redreſſe their iniurie. He ſawe, that this and ſuche like iniuries were not tolerable in a prince, and wolde haue hade the people

people doo that againſt him (whom he for his vertue hated) which neither for this nor any vice he woldet haue done, where as he ſemed to fauour. For at the beginning to mayntene Boloigne warres, which he deuide, to pull king Hēries minde frō matiers of religiō, or (as afterwarde good likely hood appeared) to haue hym taken in the warres, and caried to the bishop of Rome: the ſame deuil Gardyner was than the chief Counſaillour to haue the money abaſed, to maintene the ſame. And now lately (whan he hath broken his chayne) deuiſed Roſemary pence, worſe than euer any coyne was before, as thexperience ſheweth, they being at leinght cryed to be nothing.

The thrid ſorte of theſe euil princes be thoſe, that claime all their ſubiectes good for their owne, who allege for them this common ſayeng: All thinges be the kaiſers, all thinges be the kinges, all thinges be the Princes. And as the deuil brought fur the ſcripture ſo ſerue his purpoſe againſt Chriſt, ſo thei abhorring all other partes of ſcripture, that teache them their office or Chriſten duetie, pike out onely a pece that maye mayntene their tyrannye. It is thus written, ſaye they in the firſt boke of kinges. This shalbe the right or lawe of the king that shall rule ouer you: he will take your ſonnes, and put them to his charettes, and make his horſemen of them, and they muſt

runne before his charet, and will make him Captaines of them, ouer thousaũtes and ouer fifties, and will set them to aire his grounde, and gather in his harueſt, and to make inſtrumentes of warre and cartes. And of your daughters he will make him oyntement makers, his cokes, and bakers. And he will take the beſt of your fieldes and of your olyue trees, and geue them to his ſeruauntes. And he will take the tenthe of your ſede and of your vines, and geue it to his lordes and to his ſeruauntes. And he will take the beſt of your men ſeruauntes, and women ſeruauntes, and yongmẽ, and of your aſſes, and do his worke with them. And he will take the tenthe of your shepe, and ye shalbe his ſeruauntes. But whan ye shall crie out at that tyme vpon your king, which ye shall haue choſen you, the lorde will not heare you at that daie,

This pece of ſcripture is their clooke: but it ſerueth no more a kinges wicked doinges, than that of the wicked ſonnes of Eli, and the ſacrificers (whome men call prieſtes) to take out of mennes pottes, what pece them luſted, or to take their porcion rawe, contrary to Goddes ordinaunce. For as in thone place it is called the right or lawe of the king: ſo is it in the other place called the right or lawe of the prieſtes.

But

But in nother of these places it is called the lawe or right that God appoited to kinges or priestes, which he set out in other places, but suche as they wolde vsurpe ouer the people. Nother will this mayntene the purpose, that here he speaketh of a king and not of a tyranne, for at the first a kinges name was as odious, and as muche abhorred, as a tyrannes. But this was spoken of the prophet Samuel to feare the people, that they should not goo about to altre the ordre and policie that God had ordayned: which if they did, they should fele what a plague it were to haue a king geuen in Goddes furie. And if they had onely sought to be ruled by one (as partly in this, that one alone ruleth, a king dothe diffre from other gouernours) they wolde haue ben content with Samuel alone, who as he was appointed by God to rule alone ouer the Israelites, so did he exercite and vse his office most vprightly: but they wolde nedes haue a galaunt and pompous king, one that should ryde out with his trompettes before him, a great trope of horsemen before and behinde him, his garde all together in silke with their halbeardes about hym, and eueri one to fall flatte to the groũde that should mete him, as the Gentiles hade, who were in dede tyrannes, as appeareth by the first called Nemrod, who for his rebellion against God, and deuourig of Goddes people, was called the stowte

huntour before or against God. And in the same kingdome of the Israelites God shewed by an euident terrour to all gouernours, that he did not allowe suche right, as the prophet sayed, the king wolde vse ouer his subiectes. For whan king Achab wolde haue bought of his subiecte Naboth his vineyorde (which he neded not to haue done, if the subiectes goods be the kinges) and he refused to sel it, as he might doo, for by Goddes lawe he had a propretie therin, from which without his will and consent, he could not be forced to departe, the king fretted so muche bicause he could not haue his will, that he fell sicke in his bedde, and wolde not eate. His wife Dame Iesabel, a woman full of malice and mischief (as that kynde is very apte and prone to those vertues, and within shorte space doo so therin excell, as fewe men can in long tyme matche them) taketh the matier in hande. &what (sayeth she) be you a meteman to be a king ouer Israel, that will suffre suche dishonour at your slaues handes, one that bi your auncient prerogatiue which hathe continued thes hundred and three score yeares, yea from the first king of Israel) ye maye vse in body and goodes, as pleaseth you? Phy for shame, pull your courage to you, arise, eat your meat, be mery, I warañt you the vineorde. Out goeth a Cõmission in the kinges name, to certain Cõmissionares where Naboth dwelt, suche as the Quenes grace was sure, fauoured her procedinges. Those she requi-

requireth to cauſe Naboth to be endyted and con demned for an heretike and a traitour: and ſo to cauſe him to be ſtoned to deathe. Her will is furthewith ſatisfied, matier ynough againſt Naboth priſoner at the Barre, bicauſe she wold ſo haue it: no man might be admitted nor durſt ſpeake the truthe in the priſoners cauſe, leaſt they had ben clapped faſt and truſſed vp alſo for ſpeaking againſt the king and Quene: no queſte durſt quite him, for fear of kiſſing the flete: no lawes, no equitie, no iuſtice might defende the poore innocent. So the vineiorde is the kinges by the ordre of lawe. Thoſe newes be caried in poſt to Ieſabel, she sheweth them to her huſbande, wherwith he (as ſone as he hearde them) was recouered, and goeth to take poſſeßion of the vineiorde. But what foloweth this crueltie ād tirānie? Are not bothe the kinges Maieſtie and the Quenes highneſſe within while after killed, ād their blood licked vp of dogges, according as the Prophet declared to hī in the vineyorde, whā he toke poſſeßion of it? and all his houſe ſo deſtroied, that ther was not lefte therof ſo muche as a dogge to piſſe againſt the wall? Thus ye maie ſee thende of luſtie lordes and ladies that will haue their luſtes a lawe, and their will to be folowed and obeied of their ſubiectes as a right in dede. The true right and prerogatiue of a king was written in a particular boke by the Prophete Samuel, and laied vp by the Arke, which boke (among many other) was loſte, yet who ſo luſteth to

knowe it, maie ſee it ſet out by God ì the boke of Deu teronomie. After that God had preſcribed who ſhold be their king, that is, no aliene or ſtraunger, but one of their owne brethren: for naturally ſtraungers doo not fauour ſtraungers. And a ſtraunge prince ſeketh by all meanes to deſtroy the natural inborne, that he maie with quietneſſe and ſuretie enioie and vſe that he cometh euil by , and ſo leaue it to his ſucceßion: than is ſet furthe the right and prerogatiue of a king thus. &whā your king is made, he shall not kepe many horſes, nor putting his truſt in his horſemen, he shall not bring the people again into Egipte. He shall not haue many wiues, leaſt they altre his minde frō God: nother yet great treaſure of ſiluer ād golde. But whā he is ſet in his throne, he shall cauſe a copie of theſe lawes and ſtatutes to be written out of thoriginal re= maining with the Leuites, and the ſame he shall haue with hi all the daies of his life, that he maie learne to feare the lorde his God, ād to kepē (not to breake) all the wordes and ceremonies that becōmaunded in the lawe, and alſo to fulfill thē in his doinges: And he shal not be prowde and hault ouer his brethren , neither shall he ſwarue from the lawe towarde the right han= de or liſte hande, that he and his children maie long reigne ouer Iſrael. But beſides this lawe appoīted for all kinges, he that wilbe accompted a chriſtian king or gouernour, muſt remembre, that he is a chriſtian man, and that bi being made a king, he is not exempt from

the

the lawes and duetie of a christen mă, which eueri one professeth in Baptisme: but as he is called and exalted aboue the rest of his brethren, so should he be an example to them of good lyuing and vertue, in obseruïg the lawe, which saieth aswell to kinges as to beggers: Thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not couet any thing that is thy neighbours: and so it stablisheth and confirmeth, that euery one maie iustly kepe that is his owne, and none maie take it from him by ani meane against his will, be it king or kaiser.

And by the doinges of Samuel, who albeit he were not a king in name, yet hade he (being the lieutenaunt and viceroie to God the chief king) as great autoritie as any king in the earthe: it maie appeare, that all thinges of the subiectes be not the kinges owne propre. For if they had ben his owne, what neded Samuel (at the surrendre of his office) to offre to make an accompt? And to whom, I praie you? To any bribing Auditour? No, he offred to make it to God, and to the king that succeded him. Beholde (saieth the) I haue done all that ye desired me. I haue made you a king to rule you. My children yet shall be with you. But I am olde, and hore headed: that is, I cā not long cōtinue. I haue bē amōg you frō a child to this daie. Lo, I ā ready to make mine accōpte before God and your kīg, for all thīges that cā be laied to me by any of you. whose bullocke haue i takē? whose

asse

asse haue I hade? to whom haue I done any uiolence or wrong? whom haue I oppreſſed? of whom haue I taken any bribes, to maintene him in his wickedneſſe, to winke at his faultes, or to ſtoppe iuſtice? let him come furthe, and I will make ſatisfaction. *And none of them could ſaie, blacke was his eie.*

No, *ſaieth Samuel,* I take God and your king to witneſſe againſt you: I am ſo nette, that ye shall not finde one iote in my fingres, but Iam hable to laie ynough againſt you wicked people, &c.

O Samuel, Samuel, what king or prince can ſaie to the, as thou diddeſt to the Iſraelites? They loke not to make an accompt: no, they haue counſail of craftie Alcibiades, *how they maie make non accompt.*

But they can not eſcape it, they shall mete with an other maner of auditour, than any of Mouſire Cinquebonets *prentices: they shall reckon before him, that hathe all their doinges truly totted and faire engroſſed all ready before hande, and wher he shall in the daie of his general Audit, ſaie to Samuel and all true gouernours that rule according to Godes rule:* well fare ye, ye good and faithfull ſeruauntes, Come, entre in to your Maiſters ioie: *He shall contrary wiſe committe theſe oppreſſours and tirannes not to the lieutenaunt of the towre, or to the wardein of the Flete, but vnto*

the

the Iailour of gehenna (to be chained in the warde of eternal paine) and ſaie: Awaie with theſe deceauours of mi people to the dogges of hell, ye were maiſters, and not miniſters? ye were beare baitours, and not bailifes, ye were ſtroyes, and no ſtuardes, 91

But let vs ymagine an vntruthe, that all the ſubiectes goodes were the princes, and that he might take them at his pleaſure. Let vs ymagine, that the ſubiectes were only carnall men without the knowlage ād feare of God. Yea ād let it be graunted alſo, that they were ſpoiled of all their armour, and great gariſones ſet in euery place to kepe them in obeiſaunce, ſo that they had not wherwith to redreſſe their ĩiuries, as nature wolde counſail them: were this a waie to make the people labour, whan others ſhould take the bread out of their mouthe? &wolde they deſire to liue, to be in ſuche miſerie them ſelues? &wolde they deſire to increace the worlde with children, whan they knewe that they ſhould be lefte in worſe caſe, than vnreaſonable beaſtes? No ſurely, and that ye maie ſee by the worke of nature in the people of the &weſt Indies, now called newe Spain: &who knewe of Chriſt nothing at all, and of God no more than nature taught them. The people of that countreie whan the catholike Spaniardes came thider, were ſimple and plaine men, and liued without great labour, the lande was naturally ſo pleintiful of all thinges, and

continually

continually the trees hade ripe frute on them. &whan the Spaniardes hade by flatterie put in their foote, and by litel and litel made them selues stong, building fortes in diuerse places, they to get the golde that was ther, forced the people (that were not vsed to labour) to stande all the daie in the hotte sunne gathering golde in the sande of the riuers. By this meanes a great nombre of them (not vsed to suche paines) died, and a great nombre of them (seing them selues brought from so quiet a life to suche miserie and slauerie) of desperacion killed them selues. And many wolde not mary, bicause they wolde not haue their children slaues to the Spaniardes. The women whan they felte them self with childe, wolde eat a certain herbe to destroie the childe in the wombe. So that where at the comming thider of the Spaniardes, ther were accompted to be in that countrey nine hundred thousaunt persones, ther were in short time by this meanes so fewe lefte, as Petre martir (who was one of themperour Charles the fifthes counsail there, and wrote this historie to thēperour) saieth, it was a shame for him to name.

This is the frute, wher Princes take all their subiectes thinges as their owne. And wherūto at leinght will it come, but that either they must be no kinges, or elles kinges without people, which is all one. But thou wilt saie: wherof cometh this common saieng: all thinges be the kaisers, all thinges be the kinges? It can

not

not come of nothig. But by that that is all ready ſaied, ye ſee that euery mā maie kepe his owne, ād none maie take it frō him, ſo that it cā not be interpreted, that all thinges be the kaiſers or kinges, as his owne propre, or that they maie take thē frō their ſubiectes at their pleaſure, but thus it is to be expoūded, that they ought to defende, that euery man hathe, that he maie quietly enioie his owne, and to ſee that they be not robbed or ſpoiled therof. For as ī a great mānes houſe, all thīges be ſaied to be the Stuardes, bicauſe it is committed to his charge, to ſee that euery man in the houſe behaue him ſelfe honeſtly, and doo his duetie, to ſee that all thinges be well kept and preſerued and maie take nothing awaie from any man, nor miſſpend or waſte, and of his doinges he muſt rendre accompt to his lorde for all: ſo in a Realme or other dominion, the realme and countreie are Goddes, he is the lorde, the people are his ſeruauntes, and the king or gouernour is but Goddes miniſter or ſtuarde, ordained not to miſuſe the ſeruauntes, that is, the people, neither to ſpoile thē of that they haue, but to ſee the people doo their duetie to their lorde God, that the goodes of this worlde be not abuſed but ſpent to Goodes glorie, to the maītenaūce and defenſe of the cōmon wealthe, ād not to the deſtructiō of it. The princes watche ought to defende the poore mannes houſe, his labour the ſubiectes eaſe, his diligēce the ſubiectes pleaſure, his trouble the ſubiectes quietneſſe. And as the ſunne neuer

ſtandeth

standeth still but continually goeth about the worlde, doing his office: with his heate refreshing and cõfortig all naturall thinges in the worlde: so ought a good prince to be continually occupied in his ministerie, not seking his owne profit, but the wealthe of those that be committed to his charge. And therfore Saleuchus king of Siria vsed to saie: if men knewe, how muche busines and how litle quietnesse it were to doo the duetie of a king, none wold take vpon him that office, if he might haue the crowne for taking it vp out of the mire. And Antiochus the great king also of Siria, whan he was driuen out of his coũtrey by Scipio the Capitain of the Romanes, and had lost all Asia, and the countreies about: he thanked the Romaines, that by their meane he was deliuered of so great a parte of his cares. He sawe it was so impossible for one mã (were he neuer so diligent and watching) to execute well so great a charge.

If these two great kinges (who knewe not God, but thought them selues Goddes: that hoped not on euerlasting life, but thought ther was non other but this life: those that thought they could not be forced to make accompt of their doinges to ani persone) thought it so great a charge to haue a rule ouer countreies: how muche more should such Princes, as pretende to be christianes, that knowe them selues mortal men, no Goddes: seruauntes, no maisters: and who

must

must (bicause God hathe saied it shalbe so) make accompt for all their doings, for all soules, men, women, and children: thinke their office and ministerie an heauye burthen, and so geue ouer seking and hunting after their owne glorie, their pompe, their pride: and seke the glorie of God and the wealthe (and not the destruction) of those that be committed to their charge, and tremble at this sayeng of Chrisostome:

I maruail that any gouernour can be saued, & which is not spoken in vayne.

VVETHER IT BE lauſull to depoſe an euil gouernour, and kill a tyranne.

AS ther is no better nor happier cõmon wealthe nor no greater bleſſing of God, thã wher one ruleth, if he be a good, iuſte and godly mã: ſo is ther nõ worſe nor non more miſerable, nor greater plague of God, thã wher one ruleth, that is euil, vniuſte and vngodly. A good man knowing that he or thoſe by whõ he claymeth was to ſuche office called for his vertue, to ſee the hole ſtate well gouerned, and the people defended frõ iniuries: neclecteth vtterly his owne pleaſure and profit, and beſtoweth all his ſtudie and labour to ſee his office well diſcharged. And as a good phiſician earneſtly ſeketh the healthe of his pacient and a Shipmaiſter the wealthe and ſauegarde of thoſe he hathe in his ship, ſo dothe a good gouernour ſeke the wealthe of thoſe he ruleth. And therfore the people feling the benefit comyng by good gouernours, vſed in tyme paſt to call ſuch good gouernours, fathers: ãd gaue thẽ no leſſe honour, thã childrẽ owe to their parentes. An euil perſone comyng to the gouernemẽt of any ſtate, either by vſurpaciõ, or by electiõ or by ſucceſſiõ, vtterly neglectig the cauſe why kinges, princes ãd other gouernours in cõmõ wealthes be made (that is, the

is, the wealthe of the people) seketh onli or chiefly his owne profit ād pleasure. And as a sowe comyng in to a faire gardin, roteth vp all the faire and swet flowres and holsome simples, leauing nothing behinde, but her owne filthye dirte : so dothe an euil gouernour subuerte the lawes and ordres, or maketh them to be wrenched or racked to serue his affectiones, that they can no longer doo their office. He spoyleth the people of their goodes, either by open violence, making his ministers to take it from them without payment therfore, or promising and neuer payeng : or craftily vnder the name of loanes, beneuolences, contribuciones, and suche like gaye paynted wordes, or for feare he geteth out of their possession that they haue, and neuer restoreth it. And whan he hathe it, consumeth it, not to the benefite and profit of the common wealthe, but on hoores, hooremongers, dyceing, carding, banketting, vniust warres, and such like euilles and mischieues, wherin he delyteth. He spoileth and taketh awaye from them their armour and harnesse, that they shall not be hable to vse any force to defende their right. And not contented to haue brought thē in to such miserie (to be sure of his state) seketh and taketh all occasiones to despeche them of their lyues. If a man kepe his house, and meddle in nothing, than shall it be sayed, that he fretteth at the state. If he come abrode and speake to any other,

 furthe

further with it is taken for a iuſte conſpicacie. If he ſaye nothing, and shewe a mery countenaunce, it is a token, that he deſpiceth the gouernement. If he loke ſorowfully, than he lamenteth the ſtate of his countreye. how many ſo euer be for any cauſe committed to priſon, are not only aſked, but be racked alſo to shewe whether he be pryuie of their doinges. If he departe, bicauſe he wold lyue quietly, than is he proclaimed on open enemye. To be shorte, ther is no doing, no geſture, no behaueour, no place can preſerue or defende innocency againſt ſuche a gouernours cruelties: but as an huntour maketh wilde beaſtes his praie, and vſeth toiles, nettes, ſnares, trappes, dogges, firrettes, mynyng and digging the grounde, gõnes, bowes, ſpeares, and all other inſtrumentes, engynes, deuiſes ſubtilties ãd meanes, &wherby he maie come by his praye: ſo dothe a wicked gouernour make the people his game and praye, and vſeth all kindes of ſubtilties, deceates, craftes, policies, force, violence, crueltie, and ſuche like deuillishe wayes, to ſpoyle and deſtroye the people, that be cõmitted to his charge. And whan he is not hable without moſt manifeſt crueltie to doo by him ſelf that he deſireth, than fayneth he vniuſt cauſes to caſt them in to priſon, wher like as the bearewardes moſell the beares, and tye them to the ſtakes, whyles they be baited, and killed, of maſtyues and curres, ſo he kepeth them in chaines,

whi-

whileſt the bishoppes and other his tormentours and heretical inquiſitours doo teare and deuoure them. Fynally he ſaieth and denyeth, he promiſeth and breaketh promyſe, he ſweareth and forſweareth, and nother paßeth on God nor the deuil (as the commyng ſayeng is) ſo he maye bring to paſſe that he deſireth. Suche an euil gouernour proprely men call a Tiranne. 99

Now foraſmuche as ther is no expreße poſitiue lawe for punishement of a Tyranne among christen men, the question is, whether it be laufull to kill ſuche a monſtre and cruell beaſt couered with the ſhape of a man.

And firſt for the better and more playne profe of this mater, the manifolde and continuall examples that haue ben from tyme to tyme of the depoſing of kinges, and killing of tyrãnes, doo moſt certainly confirme it to be moſt true, iuſt and cõſonaunt to Goddes iudgement. The hiſtorie of kinges in the olde teſtament is full of it. And as Carnal Phoole truly citeth, England lacketh not the practice and experience of the ſame. For they depriued king Edwarde the ſeconde, bicauſe without lawe he killed his ſubiectes, ſpoiled them of their goodes, and waſted the treaſure of the Realme. And upon what iuſt cauſes Richard the the ſecõde was thruſt out, and Hẽry the fourth put in his place, I referre it to their owne iudgement. Denmarke alſo now in our dayes did nobly the like act:,

whan they depriued Christierne the tiranne, and committed him to perpetual prison.

Zacharias the pope that inuented first the lampes in the churche, deposed Chilperichus, king of Fraunce, bicause he was sayed to be a lecherous persone, and an unprofitable gouernour of the realme: and forced him to be a monke, and made Pipine (father of Charles) king of Fraunce.

Pope Honorious (as ye hearde before) commaunded, that the king of Vngarie should be depriued, bicause he diminished the rightes of the Crowne: onles he repented, and vndid all that he had done.

A certayn king of Portugale was very negligẽt in his office: he cõsumed ãd wasted awaye the treasure of his Realme, he oppressed his subiectes, ãd misused thẽ. &wherfore Pope ĩnocẽt the fourth made the kĩges brother therle of Bolone coadiutour to the king, ãd gaue hĩ the hole charge of the Realme, discharged the people of their othe to the king, and commaũded them to be obedient to the kinges brother in all thinges, as king. But the Popes learned counsail saied, that he ought to haue bẽ vtterly deposed of the Crowne. These doinges of Popes I rehearse not, as though their usurped autoritie were to be allowed, but for that ye maye see, that it is no newe thing to depose euil kinges ãd gouernours: ãd that those that haue the iust autoritie, maie and ought for the like causes, doo as they did. For albeit thautoritie of the pope be not laufull, yet is the reason that moued them so to doo,

honeſt and iuſt, and mete to be receaued and executed among reaſonable creatures. And this lawe of nature to depoſe and punishe wicked gouernours, hathe not bē only receaued ād exerciced in politike maters, but alſo in the churche. For the canoniſtes (the popes owne championes) grounding them ſelues upon this lawe of nature, ſaye, that popes who maye be in dede (by their ſaieng) the lieutenauntes of the deuil, albeit they call thē ſelues the uicares of God, maie be depryued by the body of the churche. And ſo at one clappe, in the coūſail holdē at Cōſtaūce in Germanie, in the yeare of our lorde 1415. were three popes popped out of their places, Gregory, Iohn, ād Benet, ād the fourthe (called Martin the fifthe) choſen. Afterwarde in the Coūſail of Baſil was Pope Eugenius ſerued with that ſawce. For the unluckineſſe of the coūtrey the reſt of Popes haue ſith refuſed that any general counſail should be kept in Germany, fearing leaſt they all hauing deſerued as muche as the other foure depoſed, should haue the like punishemēt. And thus they cōfirme their doinges. If (ſaye they) the Pope hade not a ſuperiour, he might beīg ſuffred in his euil, brīg the churche to deſtructiō. And therfore if he cā not otherwiſe be brought to amende himſelf, it is laufull to uſe the lawe of nature, that is, to remoue him from his office: for he is no bishop or pope, that abuſeth his Popedome and bishopriche. An euil prelate ād unreformable ſemeth not to be ordayned by the will of God, ſaie the Canoniſtes, alledgeing the wordes of S. Ierome, upon

the ſayēg of the prophet Oſee, that a prince or iudge is not alwayes ordayned by God. And he bringeth for example king Saul, againſt whom God ſayed: Seing the people haue made them ſelues a king, and not a ruler by me, and not by my counſail: ād yet God hade choſen Saul. But yet bycauſe he was not choſen according to the will of God, but according to the mynde and deſartes of the ſynfull people, God denyed him to be ordayned by his will or coūſail. The Canoniſtes alſo ſaie, that albeit the Popedome be by the lawe of God (as it is not in dede, ſayeth the truthe) yet that this man or that, Paule or Iulie is pope, it cometh by the acte of man. For the Cardinales repreſenting the uniuerſal churche, choſe him. And therfore if he be not according to the will of God, and for the wealthe of the uniuerſal churche, that is: if he be not one that ſeketh Goddes glorie, ād the wealthe of chriſtes churche, he maye be iuſtly depryued, bycauſe they erred in choſing him. And God ſemeth not to be againſt the putting out of ſuche an euil perſone, but to fauour and further it. For he ſayed: If the ſalt be unſauerie, it is good for no uſe, but to be caſt out, and troden under foote of all mē. And agaī: If thi right eie be a let unto thee, pul it out, ād caſt it frō thee. For it is better that one mēbre perish, thā that the hole bodi should be caſt in to hell. And agaī ſaie the Canoniſtes (the popes lawers) in rehearceig Chriſtes words: If our eie, foote, or hāde offēde vs, let it be takē frō the reſt of the bodi: for it is better to lacke mēbres ī this woorld, thā that

thei should cari the reſt of the body in to hell. By ſalt, eie, foote, and hande, is vnderſtanden the headdes and rulers, and not the other mẽbres and ſubiectes. And not only the headdes and rulers in the churche, but alſo in all policies and common wealthes.

Now if it be laufull for the body of the churche to depoſe and puniſhe a Pope, being the chief prieſt, anointed not on the arme or sholder, as kinges be, but on the head and handes, to declare an higher autoritie than kinges haue: nor crowned with a ſimple crowne, as Emperours ād kinges be, but with a triple crowne, to shewe his Regalitie and power aboue all others: how muche more by the like argumentes, reaſones and autoritie, maie Emperours, kinges, princes and other gouernours abuſing their office, be depoſed and remoued out of their places and offices, bi the body or ſtate of the Realme or common wealthe?

By this lawe and argumentes of the Canoniſtes and example of depriuacion of a Pope, are all clokes (wherwith Popes, biſhoppes, prieſtes, kaiſers and kinges vſe to defende their iniquitie) vtterly taken awaie. Saie they: &we are anointed, ye maie not touche vs: &we are only ſubiecte to God, and eueri man to vs. God will haue vs (O moſt wiked popes, biſhoppes, prieſtes, cruell and euil princes) reigne to plage you people, for your iniquitie.

But here ye ſee, the body of euery ſtate maie (If it will) yea and ought to redreſſe and correcte the vices

and headdes of their gouernours. And foraſmuche as ye haue allready ſene, wherof politike power and gouernement groweth, and thende wherunto it was ordained: and ſeing it is before manifeſtly and ſufficiētly proued, that kinges and princes haue not an abſolute power ouer their ſubiectes: that they are and ought to be ſubiecte to the lawe of God, and the holſome poſitiue lawes of their coūtrey: and that they maie not lauſully take or vſe their ſubiectes goods at their pleaſure: the reaſones, argumentes and lawe that ſerue for the depoſing ād diſplaceig of an euil gouernour, will doo as muche for the proofe, that it is lauſull to kill a tiranne, if they maie be indifferently hearde. As God hathe ordained Magiſtrates to heare and determine priuate mennes matiers, and to puniſhe their vices: ſo alſo will he, that the magiſtrates doinges be called to accompt and reckoning, and their vices corrected and puniſhed by the body of the hole cōgregacion or common wealthe.

As it is manifeſt by the memorie of the auncient office of the highe Conſtable of Englande, vnto whoſe autoritie it perteined, ont only to ſummone the king perſonally before the parliament or other courtes of iudgement (to anſwer and receaue according to iuſtice) but alſo vpon iuſte occaſion to committe him vnto warde.

Kinges, Princes and gouernours haue their autoritie

ritie of the people, as all lawes, vſages and policies doo declare and teſtifie.

For in ſome places and countreies they haue more and greater autoritie, in ſome places leſſe. And in ſome the people haue not geuen this autoritie to any other, but reteine and exercice it them ſelues. And is any man ſo vnreaſonable to denie, that the hole maie doo as muche as they haue permitted one membre to doo? or thoſe that haue appointed an office vpon truſt, haue not autoritie vpon iuſte occaſion (as the abuſe of it) to take awaie that they gaue? All lawes doo agree, that men maie reuoke their proxies and lettres of Attournaie, whan it pleaſeth them: muche more whan they ſee their procteurs and attournaies abuſe it.

But now to proue the later parte of this queſtion affirmatiuely, that it is laufull to kill a tirãne: ther is no man can denie, but that the Ethnikes (albeit they had not the right and perfite true knowlage of God) were endued with the knowlage of the lawe of nature.

For it is no priuate lawe to a fewe or certain people, but common to all: not written in bokes, but grafted in the heartes of men: not made by man, but ordained of God: which we haue not learned, receaued or redde, but haue taken, ſucked, and drawne it out of nature: wherunto we are not taught, but made: not inſtructed, but ſeaſoned: and

(as

(as S. Paule saieth) mannes conscience bearing witnesse of it.

This lawe testifieth to euery mannes conscience, that it is naturall to cutte awaie an incurable membre, which (beig suffred) wolde destroie the hole body.

Kinges, Princes and other gouernours, albeit they are the headdes of a politike body, yet they are not the hole body. And though they be the chief membres, yet they are but membres: nother are the people ordained for them, but they are ordained for the people.

Vpō this lawe of nature, ād to cōserue the hole body the Ethnikes not knowig that the soule is imortall, nor that ther shalbe a Resurrection of the body and soule to iudgement, but thought the soule perished with the body, and that ther was no difference betwene a brute beast and mannes life: thought it reasonable, and made it lawfull (by their positiue lawe) for euery man to kill a tiranne. And to encourage men to entreprise to kill a tiranne, they estemed the dede to be worthy so great rewarde, that they thought him worthy perdone that killed a tiranne, though he had killed his owne naturall father before. And besides this, whan they sawe, that tirannes vsed to haue their bodies defended with great garisones and gardes of forain people, or kept them selues in strong holdes and secret chambres, so as none without great hasarde and peril might come vere them: they pro-

pouned

pouned great rewardes to him that should destroie a tiranne. Nother thought they rewardes or giftes to be a sufficient recompence for so vertuous an acte, but they vsed also to make the ymage of him that killed a tiranne, in brasse: and to set it vp in the most solemne place of the citie, for a perpetual memorie of the acte, the commendacion of the doer, and the encouragement of others to doo the like. They dedicated to his praise and honour songes and verses, and wolde haue them taken of men as Goddes worthy immortalitie.

Whereof came the name of Nobilitie, or how were those that be called heroical or noble personages diuided from others, and had in suche honour and reuerence, seing all men came of one man and one woman? was it for their lustie hawking and hunting? for their nimble diceing and cõning carding? for their fine singing and daunceing: for their open bragging and swearing? for their false fliering and flattering? for their subtil piking and staling? for their cruel polling and pilling? for their merciles man murthering? for their vnnatural destroieng of their natural countrey men, and traiterous betraieng of their countrey? No, no, ther was no suche thing. The respecte only of their vertue ãd loue to their coũtrey brought them therto. Bicause they reuenged and deliuered the oppressed people out of the handes of their gouernours, who abused their autoritie, ãd wickedly, cruelly and tirannously ruled ouer them: the people of a

grate

grate and thākefull minde, gaue them that eſtimacion and honour. Of this kinde of nobilitie was Hercules, Theſeus, and ſuche like.

Good kinges, gouernours and ſtates in time paſt tooke it to be the greateſt honour that could be, not to take cities and Realmes to their owne vſe (whan they were called to aide and releue thoppreſſed) as princes doo now a daies: but to reſcue and deliuer the people and countreies from the tirānie of the gouernours, and to reſtore them to their libertie. So did the Romanes, the Lacedemonianes out of the tirannie of Onabis, and all Grece from the bondage that Philippus (Demetrius ſonne) king of Macedonia hade them in. So did the noble mē of the people of God alſo come to their highe eſtimacion and honour, as Gedeō, Barac, Iepthe, and Samſon, who for the deliuerie of his contrey from the power of the idolatrous cruell Philiſtines, pulled vpon him ſelf preſent deathe. So that this principle that euil ād euil doers ought to be puniſhed, and rotten membres to be cut awaie, was no peculiar lawe of the Ethnikes, but it procedeth of nature, and therfore common to all men, as it is plaine by the Chronicles and experience of all ages, and purpoſely exemplified for our ſure ſtaie and learning aſwel in the boke of Iudges, as in many other hiſtories of holy ſcriptures, according to the expreſſe worde and commaundement (applied to this ſenſe and meaning) which ſaieth: Let euil be taken out

of the

of the middes of the congregacion, that the reſt which heare of it, maie be afraied. and not entrepriſe to doo the like. And Chriſt pronounceth, that euery tree which bringeth not furthe good frute, ſhalbe cut downe, and caſt in to the fire: muche more the euil tree, that brīgeth furthe euil frute. And albeit ſome doo holde, that the maner and meane to puniſhe euil ād euil doers, is not all one amōg Chriſtianes (which be in dede that they profeſſe ī worde) ād Ethnikes, which thīke it lauful for euery priuate mā (without reſpecte of ordre ād time) to puniſhe euil: yet the lawes of many chriſtiane regiones doo permitte, that priuate mē maie kil malefactours, yea though they were magiſtrates, in ſome caſes: as whā a gouernour ſhall ſodaīly with his ſworde rēne vpō an innocēt, or goo about to ſhoote him through with a gōne, or if he ſhould be foūde in bedde with a mānes wife, or goo about to deſloure ād rauiſhe a mānes daughther: muche more if goo about to betraie ād make awaie his coūtrey to foraīers, &c. Neuertheles foraſmuche as all thīges ī euery chriſtē cōmō wealthe ought to be done decētly ād accordīg to ordre ād charitie: I thīke it cā not be maītened by Goddes worde, that any priuate mā maie kill, except (wher execuciō of iuſte pūiſhemēt vpō tirānes, idolaters, ād traiterous gouernours is either by the hole ſtate vtterly neglected, or the prīce with the nobilitie ād coūſail cōſpire the ſubuerſiō or alteraciō of their cōtrey ād people)

any

any priuate man haue som ſpecial inwarde cõmaun-
dement or ſurely proued mocion of God: as Moſes
had to kill the Egipciã, Phinees the Lecherours, and
Ahud king Eglon, with ſuche like: or be otherwiſe
commaũded or permitted by common autoritie vpon
iuſte occaſion and common neceſſitie to kill.

But now perchaunce thou wilt demaunde, why
chriſten mẽ neuer made expreſſe poſitiue lawe of the
kinde of puniſhement of tirannes. Might it not be
anſwered, as Solõ did (excuſing that he had not made
a lawe for ſuche as killed their parentes) that no man
wolde ſuſpecte, that ſo vnnatural a facte ſhould be
thought, muche leſſe committed: or that thoſe that
ſhould be the miniſters, yea the ymages of God here
in earthe, charged bothe by God and man, to ſee the
people defended from iniuries, ſhauld ſo muche abuſe
their office and autoritie, as to conuerte the ſweorde
to the deſtruction of them, whoſe championes and
defendours they ought to be? Yea rather of all to ſaie
(which is moſt certain) the ſimple people deceaued
by great othes, and begiled with faire promiſes, ſuf-
fred their gouernours to vſurpe ſuche autoritie and
power ouer them, and ſo long winked and bare with
their iniquitie, that they were not hable to take it
from them.

But I beſeche thee, what nedeth to make one ge-
neral lawe to puniſhe bi one name a great many offen
ſes, whan the lawe is all ready made for the puniſhe-
ment

ment of eueri one of them particularly. If a prince robbe and ſpoile his ſubiectes, it is theſte, and as a theſe ought to be punished. If he kill and murther them contrary or without the lawes of his countreye, it is murther, and as a murtherour he ought to be puniſhed. If he committe aduoutrie, he is an aduouterour and ought to be punished with the ſame paynes that others be. If he violently rauishe mennes wyues, daughters or maydens, the lawes that are made againſt rauishers, ought to be executed on him. If he goo about to betraie his countrey, and to bring the people vnder a foreyn power: he is a traytour, and as a traitour he ought to ſuffre. And thoſe that be iudges in cõmõ &wealthes, ought (vpon complaynt) to ſummone and cite them to anſwer to their crymes, and ſo to proceede, as they doo with others. For the prophet ſpeaking vnto thoſe that haue the rule in cõmon wealthes, and that be iudges and other miniſters of iuſtice, ſaieth: miniſtre iuſtice to the poore and orphan, pronounce the miſerable and poore to be innocent, if he be innocent: take the poore, and deliuer the nedy out of the handes of the wicked. &when ye ſitte to iudge, ye shal not haue reſpecte of perſones, whether they be riche or poore, great or ſmal: feare no man, for ye execute the iudgement of God, ſayeth the holy gooſt by the mouthe of Moſes. Iudge not after the outwarde appearaunce of men, but iudge rightly: ſayeth Chriſt.

God him ſelf gaue the example of punishement of

euil gouernours. For whan the children of Israel hade committed Idolatrie, he commaunded moses to take the Princes of the people, and to hang them up against the Sunne, that his wrathe and furie might be turned from Israel.

Whan that doughtie dame Quene Athalia, the woman tyranne (seing after her sonne Ahaziahu was dead, that she was childles, and past hope to haue any childrē) hade killed all the kynges progenye (sauing Ioas, whom Iehosaba Iorams daughter hid and get with his nource out of the waye) purposing to reigne therby in securitie, and to transpose the right of the crowne to straungers or som other fauourer of her cruel procedinges at her pleasur by the helpe and subtilti of her traiterous Counsaillours, and so went on in all abominacion and crueltie without comptrolling a great space: Did her subiectes suffre her in her wickednesse still vnpunished though she was the vndoubted Quene and chief gouernour of the lande? No, no. But as sone as Ioas was a littell nourced vp, and crept somwhat out of the shell being a childe of seuen yeares olde: the nobilitie and commones feling by experience what miserie it was to lyue vnder the gouernement of a mischieuous woman, not only garded Ioas with mē and all decent regal ceremonies vnto the house of God (by thaduise and appoyntement of Ieoiada

the

the high prieſt) and ther crouned him ſolemnely: but alſo whan Athalia the Quenes highneſſe cam in, marualing what adoo that was, and perceauing the mater, rent her clothes howling and crieng, as the maner of madde women is, ſpecially in the hotte ſeaſones of the yeare: they layed handes on her (for all her crieng, Treaſon, treaſon) and whan they hade caried her out of the houſe of God, they slewe her. And ſo was the realme ridde of a tyranne, the right enheritour poſſeſſed in his regal aſtate, the people made a newe bãde with God to ſerue him ſyncerely accordig to his worde, and banished all idolatrie and falſe religion (which the Quene had ſet vp and vſed) and the common wealthe florished afreshe in her former peace and libertie.

The prophet Elias being no ciuile magiſtrate, caused the kyng and Quenes higheneſſe chaplaynes Baals prieſtes to be killed before Achabs face, bicauſe they were idolaters, and taught and mayntened falſe religion, though ſcarce ſo falſe and idolatrous, as the popes maſſe and religion is. And whan the Quenes maieſtie dame Ieſabel (that she deuil) ſaw Iehu cõ to her palace, cried and reuiled hi as a traitour. Iehu not paſſing vpõ her wordes (though she was his ſoueraigne ladi ãd maiſtres) cried alowde: who is on my ſide, who? As though he hade ſaied, if ther be any amongyou, that ſetteth more by Goddes true religiõ and their natural countrei thanby that idolatrous witche the Quene:

eaſt her out at the wyndow. And ſo two or three of her priuie Chambre threwe her out to him, burſting her necke and bones againſt the walles. And as ſone as Iehu hade trodē her vnder his fete, dogges (as ye hearde before) eat vp her fleshe, ād ſloſſed vp her blood,

Ioram was knowne the king and right enheritour of the crowne of Iſrael. And yet whan he ſawe Iehu and his cōpanie come towarde him, he aſked him whether he came in peace. Iehu ſaied: what peace ſhould ther be, as long as the horedomes of thy mother Ieſabel and her witchecraftes be ſo great? And ſo for his idolatrous tyrannie and euil gouernement Iehu slewe him. And many moo ſuche examples in ſcriptures we haue, which (as the reſte of the Bible is) be lefte for the inſtruction of all chriſten common wealthes in like caſe, as we want not alſo the like experiēce and examples euen in theſe our dayes. Bicauſe the remembraunce of the horrible deſtruction of the euil gouernours, and alteracion of the common wealthe in Schwuzerlande and certain other places in high Almayne, now in our tyme is not very pleaſaunt, I will purpoſely paſſe it ouer, albeit the mater is ſo freshe and grene yet ſtill in all mennes ſightes, that it is ſpoken of vnyuerſally through the worlde. And was not Petrus Aloyſius (Pope Paule the thriddes ſonne, and duke of Placenza) iuſtly ſlayne now lately of his owne

owne people, bicauſe of the euil gouernement and tirannye he vſed among them?

And wher this iuſtice is not executed, but the prince and the people playe together, and one wynketh and beareth with the others faultes, ther can not be, buſt a moſt corrupte, vngodly ād vicious ſtate, which albeit it proſpre for a ſeaſon, yet no doubt at leyngth they maye be ſure, that vnto thē shall come that came to Sodome, Gomorra, Ieruſalem, ād ſuch other, that were vtterly deſtroyed.

And on the other ſide, wher the nobilitie and people loke diligently and earneſtly upon their autorities, and doo ſee the ſame executed on their headdes and gouernours, making them to yelde accompt of their doinges: than without faile will the princes and gouernours be as diligent to ſee the people doo their duetie. And ſo shall the common wealthe be godly, and proſpre, and God shalbe glorified in all. But thou wilt ſaye, what if the nobilitie, and thoſe that be called to cōmon Coūſelles, and should be the defendours of the people, will not or dare not execute their autoritie: what is than to be done? The people be not ſo deſtitute of remedie, but God hathe prouided an other meane, thas is, to complayne to ſom miniſter of the worde of God, to whō the keyes be geuen to excōmunicate not only common people for all notorious and open euilles: but alſo kaiſers, kinges, princes, and all other gouernours, whan they ſpoile, robbe, undoo ād

kill their poore ſubiectes without iuſtice and good lawes. And what ſo euer ſuche miniſter of Goddes worde byndeth vpon thoſe occaſiones here in earthe, it is faſt bounden in heauen before the face of God. And no meane to vndoo it, by any good worke (muche leſſe by popes pardone or friers prayers) without repentaunte of the partie offending, ād ſatisfactiō made to the partie offended for the iniuſtice and iniuries committed: and the mercie of God through the only merites of our ſaueour Ieſus Chriſt. Exāple we haue of S Ambroſe, who being no pope, nor popes Commiſſary, but bishop of Millane excommunicated the Emperour Theodoſius. &whoſe doinges, bicauſe thou maieſt the better knowe, I will in fewe wordes expreſſe theffecte of the hiſtorie. This Theodoſius, albeit he were an Emperour, and a Chriſten man, yet was he of nature colerike, and muche diſpoſed to be āgrie: and as it ſemeth, without conſideration. It chaunced that in a ſedicīō at Theſſalonica, ſōof his officers were ſtoned to deathe, and ſome very euil intreated. He in a rage ſendeth thider a nōbre of merciles men of warre, who making no differēce betwene thautours of the ſedicīō and thinnocent people, make an horrible ſlaughter of the poore people, mā, woman and childe. Afterwarde thēperour after his accuſtumed maner, came towarde the churche, and S. Ambroſe mette him at the churche dore, ād wolde not ſuffre him to entre: but not only tolde him, it was no place for murtherers, but alſo did excommunicate him out of all chriſten com-

panie, til he repented and made ſatisfactiō for the horrible murther cōmitted by his ſouldiours. Thēperour being brought vp and inſtructed in the worde of God (as I wolde to God all chriſtē princes were at this preſent) and knowing thoffice bothe of the miniſter of Goddes worde, ād of an Emperour, obeyed: and returnēd wepig ād crieng to his palace. Eight monetes after, came the feaſt of the natiuitie of Chriſt: ād Ruffinus lorde great maiſter or ſtuarde of his houſe came to thēperour, whō he founde very heauie, weping and ſobbing. He beig familiar with him, deſired to knowe the cauſe of his ſorowe. Ah Ruffinus (ſaieth thēperour) thou art mery, for thou feleſt not mi paines. I la mēt ād mourne for my calamitie. It is free for ſlaues and beggers to goo to the churche, ād ther to praye to God, but I maie not come ther: no, heauē gats be ſchut to me. Chriſtes words goo not out of my hart: what ſo euer ye binde on earthe, ſhalbe boūdē alſo in heauē. At leynght beig ēcouraged by Ruffinus, that he might be abſoiled of S. Ambroſe, he ſendeth hī before, to be a meane for hī, ād he him ſelfe folowed. But Ruffinus could not intreat the biſhop. After themperour cometh, but durſt not entre in to the churche, but without the dores fell on his knees to S. Ambroſe, and deſired abſolucion. S. Ambroſe ſaied, he was not mete to be abſoiled, for his comyng was more like a tiranne, one that wolde by force be abſoiled, than a chriſten man that shewed

him ſelf penitẽt and ſory. No (ſayeth thẽperour) I wil not preſume againſt the ordre of the churche to entre in by force, but I hũbly beſeche thee to loſe me out of theſe bõdes of excõmunicatiõ, ãd that thow wilt remẽbre the mercie that God uſeth: and that thou wilt not ſhutte againſt me the gate that God opened to all that be penitent. The biſhop aſked him, what worthy penaũce he had ſhewed ſyth the tyme he had cõmitted that wicked acte, or with what medicine he had healed thoſe moſt greuous woundes. It is your part (ſayeth themperour) to prepare the medicine, and myne to receaue and uſe it. At leyngh S. Ambroſe required ther might be a lawe ordayned, that the execucion of reuẽge ſhould not be done ſodainly but delaied, ſo as it ſhould not proced of angre, and thẽperour made that lawe. Afterwarde he was releaſſed of the excõmunicatiõ: ãd commyng in to the churche, he made his praiers, not ſtanding nor kneling, but lyeng flatte on the grounde, pulling his heare, beating his browe, wepig, lamẽting and cryeng with Dauid: My ſoule cleaueth to the pauement, quicken me (O lorde) according to thy worde: ãd aſked mercie ãd forgeueneße. Thus ye ſee, what any miniſter of the churche maie doo upõ the greateſt prince, if he will execute his office ãd the power that Chriſt geueth him. But thou wilt ſaie, what if the miniſter paſſe not on his duetie, but be contẽt to winke at all the uices of the gouernours, be thei neuer ſo wicked, ſo he maie haue a biſhopriche, a deãrie, a prebẽde, or a good fatte benefice, ãd liue ũpuniſhed in all abomi

nacio? Yea ād what if ther be ſuche ſpecial grudges be twene the nobilitie and commones, that the one ſorte neither truſteth nor loueth the other, ſo as the one dare not open the neceſsitie ād meane of ſuche correction and redreſſe of the euil gouernours vices, for feare leaſt if the purpoſe come to light before hande, the mater be daſhed, and the mocionar leape headles for his labour, as it is in theſe daies often ſene: &what ſhifte than? In dede ther be certain examples and paternes in the holy Bible, &which I will not ſticke to rehearſe, though not expounde, but holly referre them to the further debating and iudgemēt of thine owne conſcience, through the holy gooſt, by whoſe prouidence they are enrolled for our learning. 119

&we reade that after the lorde God hade ſondry times deliuered his people of Iſrael from wicked tirānes, with whom he hade plaged them for their wickedneſſe and Idolatrie: at leinght whan through aboundaunce of wealthe and quietneſſe they fell to a certain careles ſecuritie of life, not only forgetting God and his holy ſincere worde, but alſo ſeking euery one his owne ſingular ſelf gaine with the hurt and contempt of his neighbour. God toke from them their natural liege lorde, the good Iudge Othoniel, and placed, yee (ſaieth the ſcripture) he ſtreynghtened a ſtraunge prince among them, an Idolatrous perſone and a wicked, called Eglon. This Eglon vſed the matier ſo with bribing thoſe Iſraelites, that

for preferrement wold be traitours to their natural countrey, and ſpecially in bringing in a great power of Ammonites ād Amalekites (two kinds of people in beggerly pride and filthineſſe of life muche like to the common nature of Italianes and Spaniardes) aſwell to garde his pſon, as to fortifie the ſtrōg holdes ād municiōes: that by ād by ſeig himſelf ſtrōg ynough with his ſtraungers and Inborne traitours, he brought the countrey and people vnder his ſubiection by fine force, ſo that he continued their ordinary Prince and chief ruler xviij. years long. &what oppreſſing of the poore, what robbing of the riche, what taking vp of corne and vitail for the king and his ſtraūgers, and no money paied for it, what taxes and paimentes the people were yowked withall, what rauiſhing of mennes wiues, daughters and ſeruauntes, what heading and hanging of the natural Iſraelites to make the ſtraungers lordes and gentilmen, what common miſeries and continual calamities ther were during that ſpace, no doubt it is vnſpeakeable.

But what remedy? No man durſt make moane to his neighbour for feare of bewraieng, none durſt ones whiſtre againſt the king, they muſt bende or breake, no remedy, pacience perforce, all were faine to ſerue and pleaſe king Eglon. But at leinght they ſent (as their yearly accuſtomed maner was) a preſent to the king by a wittye meſſagier, called Ahud: who hauing acceſſe to the kig, ſaied he hade to ſaie vnto his Maieſtie

ſtie ſecretly from God. And whan the king hade commaunded all his ſeruauntes awaie, ſo that Ahud and the king were alone in his ſomer parlour, Ahud thruſt his dagger ſo harde in to the kinges fatte paunche, that ther laie king Eglon dead, and Ahud fled awaie.

Now, was this well done or euil? Forſothe the dede is ſo commended in ſcripture, that the holy gooſt reporteth Ahud to be a ſaueour of Iſrael.

But note by the waie, the texte ſaieth not, that Ahud was ſent of the people to kill the king, nor that he tolde them what he intended: for by that meane, one Iudas or other wolde haue betraied him, and ſo should he haue ben drawen, hanged and quarted for his entrepriſe, and all his conſpiratours haue loſt bothe life, landes and goodes for their conſpiracie.

Only the ſcripture ſaieth, that Ahud (being a priuate perſone) was ſtered vp only by the ſpirite of God.

Likewiſe whan Siſara lieutenaunt general of king Iabins warres fleing from Barac ſought ſuccour to hide his head, hauing long noied and hurt Iſrael with oppreſſion and warres, a woman named Iael called him in to her houſe, and hidde him vnder a Couering. He thought him ſelfe ſure, and for wearineſſe dropped harde on slepe.

Iael taketh a great long ſpikig nayle, and driueth it with a hāmer ſo harde in to his braines, that Siſara troubled Iſrael no more, nor neuer tolde who hurt hī.

Mattathias

Mattathias being by the kinges Commißionares required and commaũded to conforme him ſelf to the kinges procedinges (which was to committe Idolatrie) as all his countreymen the Iewes hade done (and as the like caſe ſtandeth now in Englande) not only refuſed to obey king Antiohus commaundement, or to folowe his procedinges in that behalfe, but alſo whan he ſawe a Iewe committe Idolatrie before his face, he ranne vpon the Iewe in a great Zeale and slewe him, and fell alſo vpon the ordinary Commißioners ſent from Antiochus the ordinary king of the Realme, and slewe them out of hande. Theſe examples nede no further expoſicion, the ſcripture is plaine inough. But if neither the hole ſtate nor the miniſter of Goddes worde wolde doo their common duetie, nor any other laufull shifte before mencioned can be hade, nor dare be attempted: yet are not the poore people deſtitute all together of remedy: but God hathe left vnto them twoo weapones, hable to conquere and deſtroie the greateſt Tirãne that euer was: that is, Penaunce and Praier. Penaunce for their owne ſinnes, which prouoke the angre and diſpleaſure of God, and make him to ſuffre tirannes, warres, famine, peſtilence and all plages to reigne among the people. And praier, that he will withdrawe his wrathe, and shewe his merciſull countenaunce.

Hereof we haue not only commaundement, but alſo manifeſt examples in the ſcriptures. For whan the

the Arke of God was taken awaie from the people of Israel by the Philistines in batail, and the glorie of Israel brought vnder foote (the people being miserably for their sinnes pressed and plagued by the Philistines twentie yeares long) so that the people despering of their honour and libertie, and seing no marcial wepon, nor helpe of man hable to redresse their state, cried and continued in lamenting their thraldom and greuous condicion: at leyngth by the aduise and commaundement of the good Prophet Samuel, the people fell to these two meanes: Penaunce, and praier, with fasting: and the lorde God not only deliuered them out of thoppression of the Philistines vnto their former libertie, but also gaue them suche victories, that the Philistines many yeares after, durst not ones moue warre against them.

Thus was also the cruel tiranne Herode vainquished. Thapostles ād people in the primatiue churche lamenting their sinnes, and calling to God for mercie, the angel of God stroke Herode sitting in his throne, in his princely apparail, making an Oracion to the people, and they cōmending it to be the voice of God, and not of man, and so he was eatē vp of lice or wormes. Likewise whan Iulian themperour and Apostata had long persecuted the churche, at leingh whā the people fell to repentaunce and common praier, he going in to Persia, was slaine, and none of the familie of Constantine (wherof he came) after that was

Emperour

Emperour. And in like maner not long sith whan that tiranne Duke George of Saxonie persecuted all suche as professed the worde of God, reuiued and pulled out of purgatorie, by the worthy instrument of God D. Luther: and at leynght threatned, that he wolde burne and destroye the vniuersitie of wittenberg, which whan Luther hearde, he went in to the pulpit, and exhorted eueri man to put on his armour: that is, Penaunce and prayer. And sone after, God rid the worlde of that tiranne, and so not only deliuered his churche, but also augmented it with an other vniuersitie, called Lipsia, and all the hole countrey of this cruel duke was conuerted to Christes Gospell.

These be the wonderfull workes of almightie God, whose power is as great and as ready at a pinche as euer it was, and his mercie as willing to be shewed, if his poore afflicted people wolde doo on their weapon: that is, be sory for their sinnes, and, desire him to with drawe his sourges, and to holde his mercifull hande ouer them.

VVHAT CONFIDENce is to be geuen to princes and potentates.

WHAN the kig of Macedonia, Alexander the great, hearde the philosopher Anaxagoras saye ther were many worldes, the worme of ambicion so tickled and troubled his harte, that the water gushed out of his eies. And whan he was asked, what made him to wepe: haue I not iuste occasion to wepe (saieth he) that hearing of so many worldes, I am not yet lorde of one? This worme without faile was the deuil, who not contented that kinges (the ministers of God) should serue God in their vocation (to haue them the soner fall from God, and serue him) putteth them in hope they shalbe lordes of all the worlde, if they will take him for their chief lorde and soueraigne. But bicause he seeth the inconstauncie of kinges, that they no lõger abyde by their othes and promises than they maie therby haue profit, gayne, and their desire, he dothe not furthewith put them in possession, but to trye their fidelitie, he sheweth them bi what meanes they shall come to it, putting to their good will, helpe, and industrie. He doubteth not, but if he maye bring them ones in to the puddle ouer the shoen, they will through thicke ãd thine whatsoeuer cometh of it, to come to that thei loked for. These waies of the Deuil procede out of his schole of practices

and

and they be in a generalitie, two: that is, opẽ force and secret ſubtiltie: the one wherof, that is, force and manhood, hauing ofte tried and moſt tymes it hathe not ſucceded after their minde, they haue not ſo muche put in vſe, but haue rather truſted on thother, that is, ſubtiltie ād crafte wherby they worke a great deale more miſchief than by open force and ſtreinght of men, and with leſſe peril of them ſelues. For whan they goo about it by force, the deuil their maiſter is not hable to warraunt them the ſucceſſe. For all victorie and good ſucceſſe cometh of God, who whan he ſeeth the people (againſt whom the deuil and his kinges worke) fall to repentaunce for their ſinnes, he ouerthroweth his and their enemies with a fillip, as he did prowde Olofernes ād Sẽnacherib: the one being slaine by the good and faithfull woman to God and her countrey Iudith: all his power being an hundred aud twentie thouſaunt fotemen, and twelue thouſaũt archers on horſebacke deſtroied by a fewe. And the others armie being an hundred fourt ſcore and fiue thouſaunt perſonnes was deſtroied by the angel of God without the worke of man, and he forced to flie: and at his returne home was killed of his owne two ſonnes.

But the other meanes, that is, ſubtiltie and crafte (which the world calleth policie) they more practice: and therin daily do ſo procede, that within short time many of them haue bẽ doctours. And they haue a

principle

priciple of this arte, which is, that to come by a king 127
dome, to com by that they desire, they maye breake all mennes lawes, all othes, all promises, yea the lawes of God and honestie. This arte of subtiltie of princes (otherwise called policie) consisteth chiefly in this, for a mā to appeare outwardly that he is not inwardly: to saye one thing with the mouthe, and thinke an other in the hart: to smyle vpon him, whose throte he wolde gladly see cutte: and so pretende to the eie all amitie, beneuolence and loue, wher they beare greatest hatred, enuye, ād malice, till conuenient tyme maie be had with least daungier, to execute their conceaued mischief. And bicause they be not hable alone to doo their feates, loke wher they can vnderstande of any of their nature, them they reteyne, to them geue they great chaynes of golde, fede them with great pensions ād fees promised. And yet they be not ignoraunt, that such vile men (as will for money betraye their owne countreye, and serue their wicked purposes) are like vnto common souldiours and launce knightes, who serue him that geueth a peny more: and will, whan they maie hauc greater bribes of an other, sone buye and sell their present maister. For how is it possible for any man to thinke, that he whom he hathe corrupted with rewardes to serue his purpose, will or can be faithfull to hi that is a straūger, that so well knoweth what they be, and findeth them false

to their natiue countrey: in the defense wherof all honest men be bounden, and be content to bestowe their life, their blood, their goodes, and what so euer they haue? Doo not princes vse traitours, as men vse Coloquintes, Turbith, Elleborum, and such like poisones? that is, to serue their purpose, whan they haue nede of them, and after can not abyde their sight, no, not their sauour, but cast them out on the dong hill?

Yes doubtles it is most certain. &whan one had betrayed in to Cesars handes certain townes: what saied Cesar? I loue treason (sayeth he) but traitours I doo abhorre. So saied also king Antigonus. I loue traitours (sayeth he) whileſt they betraye, but whan they haue betrayed, and serued my purpose, I vtterly hate and abhorre them,

Aurelianus themperour hauing long besieged the citie of Tiana in Asia, and being without hope to get it by force, practiced with one Heracleo (a great riche man ād citezin of the citie, than being in the citie) to betraye the citie to him.

This Heracleo fearing leaſt if the citie should be wonne by force, he should also lose his riches, and hoping of great gayne by this bargayn, consented to themperour, and did that he required. Themperour assone as he came into the citie, caused this traitour Heracleo to be killed (albeit he had done alone that for themperour, that all themperours power was not habie to obteyne for thēperour) bicause he could not

abyde

abyde his ſight, that had betraied his countrey, the dede was ſo horrible and againſt nature. Yet bicauſe he wold not ſeme to haue done it for deſire of his riches, he gaue them to his children, whom he preſerued. And writing to his frende the mater as it was done, sheweth that he could not loue nor abyde Traitours, nor that he could kepe promiſe with ſuche as ſhould not be faithfull and louing to their countrey.

It is written of one called Cacanus king in Baierland in Germanie, that he inuaded a countrey ſom tyme called Carnia, now called Frioly in Italie, and other places belonging to the Venecianes with a great power: and at the furſt meting of him and the enemies, he ouercame and killed one Giſulfus a Lombarde, Duke of that countrey. After that he beſieged a citie, wherin Romilda the Dukes wife was.

She deſiring to ſee this king what maner man he was, neded not to haue his ymage pourtred vnto her, but loked ouer the walles aduiſedly vpon him. & whan she ſawe he was a goodly ād faire perſone, she was by and by in loue with him. She whisheth, that she might fele him entre in to her owne holde. Meat nor drinke could do her good, she could not sleape, she ſobbeth she howleth, she ſoūdeth, she teareth her heare, and is more thā halfe madde, for lacke of her luſt.

To be shorte, contrary to all honeſtie and womanly shamefaſteneſſe, she woeth him to be her luſbande: and hauing no regarde of the loue

that euery honeſt creature ought to beare to his coun-trey, she promiſeth to geue him citie, countrey, iewel-les, goodes, and what ſo euer she could polle of her ſubiectes, and make for him, ſo that he wolde marie her. The kig lacking no witte (or at leaſt wanting no wyttye counſail) and knowing what peril might chaũce vnto him, if he should ſeke to winne it by for-ce, taketh the offre.

And according to his promiſe he maried her, and one night toke paynes to shake vp her lecherous rot ten ribbes. In the next morning he leaueth his cham-bre, and her gates open free to euery man: and (as ſo-me, God geue them grace to repent in tyme, did to the wicked woman of Feuersham in Kent, that not long ſince killed her huſbande) he gaue euery man libertie that wolde, to offre his deuocion in to her corporeſſe. So at leynght whan he thought her tyred, and her vnſaciable luſte ſomwhat ſtaunched (for by li ke it wolde neuer haue ben fully glutted) he cauſed her to be thruſt on a ſtake naked, that all mẽ might ſee thoſe vgli partes, which to ſatiffie she was content to betraye her natural countreie: and that it should be an example to all others, to take hede to doo the like, he cauſeth the hole citie to be cleane ouerthrowen.

This maye ye ſee, that kinges ſpare neither male nor female, great nor ſmall, that for any reſpecte be-traye their owne natural countrey: bicauſe they kno-we, thoſe can neuer be faithfull to ſtraungers that be

falſe

falſe to their parēt, their countrey. And wold to God they were as earneſtly ſet to abſteyne frō doing euil, as ī theſe exāples they to haue bēready to doo iuſtice.

But what ſhall we nede to bring furthe examples of practicers, of ſtraunge and farre countreyes, whā euery man maye fynde pleyntie in his owne? To what purpoſe ſhall it be, to alledge thoſe of a great meany yeares paſt and ſtale, whan ther be pleyntie euery daye freshe to be founde? Only to let men ſee by comparīſon of the olde with the newe, and the newe with the olde, the preſent with the paſt, and the paſt with the preſent, that the deuil hathe alwayes ben, is and ſhalbe the deuil: and ſuch fetches as he hathe vſed, ſuche he dothe and will vſe. And that his diſciples, as thei neuer forget the principles of their ſcience, ſo haue they at leyngth their maiſters reward, worthy their deſartes.

&whan wriothesley, Arundell and Southwell conſpired with thambicious and ſubtil Alcibiades of England, the Erle of warwike (afterwarde duke of Northumberland) to pull the good duke of Somerſet king Edwardes vncle and protectour out of his authoritie, and by forgeing a great meany of falſe lettres ād lies to make the Protectour hated, brought to paſſe warwikes purpoſe: who than for a while, but they three? &wriothesley that before was banished the Court, is lodged with his wife and ſonne next to the king. Euery man repaireth to

&wriothsley, honoureth &wriothesley, sueth vnto &wriothesley (as the Assirianes did to Ammon) and all thinges be done by his aduise: and who but &wriothesley? Arundell his promised to be next to the king, grome of his stole, or Comptrollour of his house at the least. Southwell (for his whisking and double diligence) must be a great Counsaillour in any wise. But what was thende? The erle as craftie as the best (seing that his desire should not take place, if these men might haue that they hoped for) so handleth the matier, that &wriothesley is fayne in the night to get him out of the court to his owne house: wher vpon narowe examination, fearing least he should come to some open shamfull ende, he either poisoned him self, or pyned awaye for thought.

Southwell is committed to the Flete, wher being examined, he confessed ynough to be hanged for, and hade gone very nere it, hade not his examiners vpon hope of his amendement breaking out of his eie, but not out of his hart, obteyned therles fauour.

And at therles sute Arundel hathe his head with the axe diuided from the shoulders.

And how at leinght was P. the maister of practices handled, that will haue one parte in euery pagent, if he maye by prayeng or paieng put in his foote? But before I procede to speake of this maister of practices

it

it shall not be amysse, that I tell you somwhat of his maister the doctour of practices. For albeit this doctour be now (but to late) throughly knowen, yet it shall be requisite, that our posteritie knowe what he was, and by his description see, how nature had shaped the outwarde partes, to declare what was within. This doctour hade a swart colour, an hanging loke, frowning browes, eies an ynche within the head, a nose hooked like a bussarde, wyde nose trilles like a horse, euer snuffing in to the wynde, a sparowe mouthe, great pawes like the deuil, talauntes on his fete like a grype, two ynches longer than the naturall toes, and so tyed to with sinowes, that he coulde not abyde to be touched, nor scarce suffre them to touche the stones.

Gardiner

And nature hauing thus shaped the forme of an outwarde monstre, it gaue him a vengeable witte, which at Cambridge by labour and diligence he hade made a great deale worse, and brought vp many in that facultie: & wriothesley, Germayne Gardiner (whom he caused spedily to be hanged, least he should haue to muche disclosed his maisters arte) ād among many other, this maister or proctour of practices, whom we are now entred to speake of.

This doctour to geue some significatiō of his natūre ād cōning to come alofte, that he might doo the more mischief, betrayeth his M. Carnall wolsei: and more

than any other laboureth the diuorſe betwene king Henry and the dowager. And by and by he earneſtly ſought to haue riddē in the kīges bootes: worſe could not content him. But whan he ſawe that wold not be, and conſidred it better to haue ſtoare than one only paire (for ſo perchaunce he might haue founde them ſomtymes not all cleane whan he wolde haue vſed thē, ād alſo it should be a let to bring to paſſe that he purpoſed) he chaungeth his purpoſe: and bycauſe none shoulde remembre his practices before, nor ſuſpecte the reſt to come, he ſhaueth his crowne as broade as a ſawcer, and decketh himſelf with a white ſmocke like a portour of the Stiliarde, But what nedeth ſuche circumlocucion, whan euery body knoweth this doctour of practices was called D. Stephan Gardiner? After this, his lucke was to be committed to the towre, whan Tyburne hade ben a place more worthy his deſertes. His ſcholar the maiſter or proctour of practices, remembring how muche he had proſpred by the meanes of the doctour, and bending his diſpoſicion to make thankefull requital of parte of his receaued benefites, putteth the doctour in memorie of an olde leſſon he had taught him: that is, to geue backe twoo fote with the ramme, that he might winne the thrid. But whether this D. Gardiner was offended with his ſcholar the proctour, for his ouerranke practiceing, or how it happened, I can not tell, I am ſure that in this one, he anſwered honeſtly:

ſtly : let my ſcholar goo on as he hathe begonne (ſaieth he) for Gardiner can not plaie the knaue ſo. &wordes of Gardier: but he was not vnskilled (I ſaie) ì the arte of practices. No in dede, he was excellent in that feate, as it well appeared. For whan he had wrought and made ſure the great mariage to auoide the hatred of the people, he made his ſcholar to father it, and to hauc the outwarde thankes. And no maruail of his conning. For he was his maiſter, and hade ſtudied longer the arte, than the proctour, and hade a better witte, and ſpent yearly the halfe of his biſhopriche in bribing, or elles he had loſt his head long before: for his treaſones were not altogether vnknowen, albeit they were couered and hidden. 135

But what dothe this maiſter or proctour of practices? Dothe he not diſſemble with the erle of warwike, ſerueth his turne ì al that his wittes wold ſerue?

But what at leinght becometh of our practiceing P.? He is committed to warde, his garter with shame pulled from his legge, his robe frō his backe, his coate armour pulled downe, ſpurned out of &windſore churche, troden vnder fote, and he him ſelf at leinght with great fauour obteineth, that he might redeme the reſt of his corporal paines with open confeſſion at the barre in the Starre chambre on his knes of his bribery, extorcion, diſſimulacion, ambicion, robbing of the king, and ſuche like vertues, wherby he became noble.

If we minded in this place to displaye the packing and practiceing of the Nobilitie and counsail of Englande in the sickenesse and at the deathe of king Edwarde the vi. for the pretensed placeing of the lady Iane in the regale seat, and their sodain slipping the coler. and deceauing of one an other: it were mater ynough to teache men, how litel confidence and trust ought to be geuen either to the smothe cõtenaunces, faire wordes, confident promises, bloody othes, or swearing vpon the holy Euangelies, either yet to the lettres ād hāde writinges of the Princes ād potentates of the world. They that were sworne chief of counsail with the lady Iane, and caused the Quene to be proclaimed a bastarde throughout all Englande and Irelande: and they that were the sorest forcers of men (yea vnder the threatned paines of Treason) to sweare and subscribe vnto their doinges, bewraied the mater themselues vnder hande by their wiues ād other secret shiftes, and afterwarde became counsaillours (I will not saie, procurers) of the innocent Lady Ianes deathe: and at this present are in the higheste autoritie in the Quenes house, and the chiefest officers and doers in the common wealthe.

And som of them that wrote most earnestly to a certain auncient lorde of the Realme (among many other, in the fauour of the Lady Iane, bebastarding and railing vpon the Quene, were not ashamed within fewe daies after (whan the same lorde was

locked

locked vp in the towre, for his constaunt although constrained obedience to the common ordre of the Counsail) to be his most straunge and rough examiners on the contrary part, as though they them selues hade neuer halted in the mater.

But I knowe these practicers answer: that if they hade not vsed that practice, they should not only haue standen in hasarde them selues, but also failed of their priuie purpose. & well. In the meane tyme it is ynough to knowe, that a man maie not trust nor beleue them, either by their wordes, othes, or hande writinges further thā he seeth and heareth them, and scarcely so farre.

And I praie you, hathe not the realme good cause to thanke and trust the potentates, Prelates and Parliament men for banishing the sacred testament and Gospel of God with the sincere administracion of his holy Sacramentes, and for bringing the deuillishe power of the Romishe Antichrist in to Englande again with his miserable Masse and all popishe slauery? By the which they haue not only brokē their othe ād loyaltie to God, and to themperial Crowne of Englande, pullīg eternal cōdēnaciō vpō thēselues, ād puokīg the heauie hād of Goddes wrath ād plage vpō their sede, ād vpō the hole realme, ī cōpellīg the people to sinne by fallīg frō the true seruice of the liuīg God ito most wicked supersticion and idolatrie (alas therfore) but also haue ben and are giltie of the innocent blood of

sondry

ſondry excellent and moſt godly learned men, and of many other true chriſten natural engliſhe men and women.

Theſe practices nede no Paintour, the memorie ād ſight therof is not only euident in mennes eies (to their hartes ſorowe) but alſo rawe in their ſtomackes, and not eaſie to be digeſted. God be merciſull vnto miſerable Englande.

But lo, whiles I am thus occupied: a newe Pollicie, a newe, a newe, a newe. &wote ye what? Paget and Maſon albeit they haue not one father and mother yet be they ſworne brethren: and albeit they be of ſondry vniuerſities, yet be they bothe of one ſtudie. &what ſo euer Maſon worketh, Paget vttreth: that thone inuenteth, the other practiceth. By Maſons working, and Pagettes deuiſing, Sir Petre Carowe went into Flanders, Maſon pledgeing for his ſauegarde king Philippes fidelitie, ād his owne honeſtie. Afterwarde he and Sir Iohan Cheke being enticed bothe to come to Bruſſelles to ſee the Quenes Embaſſadours, and hauīg brought Paget on his waie towarde Englande, be in their returne taken by the Prouoſt Marſhall, ſpoiled of their horſes, and clapped in to a carte, their legges, armes aud bodies tied with halters to the body of the carte, and ſo caried to the ſea ſide, and frō thence in to the towre of Londō. And before Paget came to Caleſe, Sir Petres man comming out of England meteth him, and asketh

for

for his maister. Paget smileth and saieth nothing, but his maister was in health. 139

But how cometh this to passe? marke well. The Quene thought Paget a mete man for her in all thinges, sauing that without cause she suspected his religion: and at his comming ouer, she (like a woman) vttreth to him what she thought of him, and promiseth, if she maie perceaue his hart ād mouthe to agree together, she wold set hi alofte. He assureth her, that what so euer she should will him, should be done, yea he wolde doo more than she should require him.

Coming ouer he bruted, that he liked not the state in England: for he is one of them, that hangeth now on prophecies (but on a wrong thing) and therfore wold be out of the waie in the heat of the mad moneth of Maie, and pretēdeth to come to the baines to Acon. But in dede his intent was to see, if he coulde practice with some of the Duke of Cleues men, to betraie the poore Ducheſſe of Suffolke, and som of thēglishe congregacion at Wesil, that he (to perfourme his promise) might present them to the Quene. But whan he sawe, his purpose failed (God hauing better prouided for his Duches, to kepe herfrō Traitours handes) he cometh not to the baines, he neded them not at that tyme. But than he causeth Carowe and Cheke (whom Mason hade prepared ready to serue his turne) to be taken and caried awaie, as before ye haue heard. And at his returne, had great

thankes,

thankes, and the Quenes fauour increaced towarde him. But his iuſte rewarde yet is not come, let hi not loke to ſpede any better than Heracleo, if he continue Iudas ſtill. I wolde wiſhe, he wolde in time become a Petre, I truſt he is not ſo farre paſt, but he maie be praied for. He is my good lorde, and Maſon ones my great frende, ād nere neighbour. I wiſhe them bothe well. Thus ye ſee the final ſucceſſe and rewarde of traitours. Wherfore it is to be wondred, that ſuche practicers which worke ſo muche miſchief for others, can not take hede of the euil that is towardes themſelues. But Goddes worde muſt be verified of the wicked. Beholde, the wicked trauaileth with miſchief (ſaieth the worthy prophet and king Dauid, a man of great experience) He hathe cōceaued unhappines, and brought furthe a lie. He hathe grauen and digged up a pitte, but he ſhall fall him ſelf in to the pitte that he hathe made. For the miſchief that he mindeth to others, ſhall come on his owne head, and his wickedneſſe ſhall fall on his owne pate.

But foraſmuche as all theſe fetches and practices be only made and laied to diſceaue thoſe that be honeſt, faithfull, true, and natural to their countreie: it is requiſite to treate how they maie be auoided. Deceat wold not be knocked out with deceat, if it might ſo be, but honeſt men ſhould alwaies and at all times

deale

deale plainly and honestly. And therfore the honestest meane before thinges be done, is to be wise and circumspecte: and to forsee thende, what mischief maie folowe, before they sodainly, rashely and vnaduisedly consent to ani thing. To vse suche honest wisdom and forsight, is permitted bothe by Goddes worde and nature. Yea Goddes worde and nature commaunde honest men to vse it. For those thinges that can but ones be done, and wheron so great weigh thangeth, ought to be well done. Therfore men ought not to geue credite to faire wordes, large promises, and great othes (for these are the instrumentes to deceaue the honest and well meaning) but the fairer the wordes be, the larger the promises, ād the greater the othes, the more to suspecte. For godly and honest thinges maie be well ynough done without painted and smothe wordes, faire promises and othes. Ther ought to be such equalitie in doing of thinges, that such deceates nede not. Only subtiltie and craste deuised long writinges, great promises, and many solempne ceremonies. &whā the great mariage was treated in the priuie Counsail ād so great promises made, the olde Duke of Norfolke saied, they were golden wordes, but how shall they be persourmed, saied he? Afterwarde whan it was propouned to the lordes in the parliament to be ratified, the Lord &windsori like maner asked who should be suertie for the persourmaunce therof, ād who should sue the forfaite? Nother of thē lacked

wisdome

wisdome and forsight, to see that vnder painted pa=
pir, muche mischief was hidde. Long erperience had
taught it the duke, being long trained in Princes
practices: and nature suffred not the other lorde to
be vtterly voide of it. But bothe of them lacked that
courage, magnanimitie, and fortitude, that ought to
be in noble men. But it might be, that they hade it,
but durst not vttre it, partly for that thone was in
hope to recouer that he had a time lacked, and the
other for feare to lose that he hade: but chiefly (as it
maie be gathered) bicause they sawe their peeres mou=
thes stopped. But let them be sure, all will not serue, if
practicers partes maie take place. For suche thinges
wold be all together ouerthrowen, or not meddled
with: for at leinght the least let wilbe called to memo=
rie, they maie be sure. And bicause publike maters of
a Realme, that concerne all and euery mannes life, wi=
fe, children, landes, goodes, and what so euer can not
be tretted vpon by all mē, but all must put their trust
in a fewe: men ought to be wise and circūspecte whō
they trust. For ther be to many that passe not what
become of their neighbours, so they maie prospre
them selues: what become of the hole Realme, so their
owne families maie stande still. He that maketh sute to
be a deputie for a multitude, semeth to sue for his
owne vainglorie or profit. Those that sende lettres,
not to chose this man, but to chose suche a man: haue
in their headdes more than the vniuersal wealthe of

all.

all. He that bringeth lettres to be preferred, meaneth not the benefite of them that he wolde ſerue. He that geueth moneye, and maketh great feaſtes, thinketh ſom other fetche, than the ſeruice of his neighbours. He that refuſeth or releaſſeth his ordinarie wages, loketh for ſom greater extraordinarie rewarde. He that is alwayes or ofte at prices platters, or in practicers Palaces, cã not long cõtinue the peoples true protectour. And therfore in Venece (as they write) none of the Senate and officers vpon payne of his head, dare talke pryuily with an other, nor take rewardes or fees of any forayn Prince. For they are ſo gelous of the hole ſtate, bicauſe they haue ben ſo often deceaued by practicers in their owne companies. &which leſſon all wiſe men and honeſt men should learne, and by all meanes ſuſpecte princes promiſes and withſtande practicers doinges, and not beleue one worde that they ſaye, be it neuer ſo gentil: nor yet their dedes, what ſo euer shyne or pretenſe of loue they declare. Such a realme as Englãd is, is well gottẽ, how ſo euer it is gotten. But thou that arte a true englishe man, ſeing the fetches ãd falſehead of theſe named and ſuch other as they be, loke in tyme to thy ſelfe and to the ſtate of thy naturall countraye, and truſt not vnto them, though thei vſe neuer ſo muche flierīg, though they ſweare neuer ſo faſt, though they ſpeake neuer ſo faire, and though they geue thee their hande writing. Be thou Prometheus and not Epimetheus.

theus. Remembre that our countrey man Adam Afterwitte hathe a great while ben the lorde Forrewittes foole. Be taught therfore in tyme, before thou be taken. Saye not to late: Hade I wiſt.

Thou haſt ſufficient warning, God geue thee grace to conſidre it and vſe it.

A N

AN EXHORTACION
or rather a warnyng to the Lordes and Commones of Englande.

IHARTILY wishe (natural englishemen and good countreymen) that it had pleased God, to haue geuen som cause, wherby ye with me, and I with you might haue reioyced, and not to haue lamented one of vs to an other of our miserie. For sorowfull thinges are neither grate to the hearer, nor pleasaunt to the teller. But as if one should come to his deare frende or good neighbour, finding him very sore wounded, and did but lament with him, ād not went about to helpe him to cure his woundes, he should rather augment his paynes and increace his sorowe: so if in this miserable miserie, wherin we and our poore countrey of England stande, and yet is not come to the full and ripenesse, I should but lament and waile with you, which I can not but doo, onles I should shewe my seelf toto vnnatural and vnkynde, I should but encreace (I thinke) your sorowes and paynes: but most certaynly I am sure myne owne. But as it is a most sure

token of deathe, whan the ſicke man feleth not his diſeaſe, nor cã tell wher his grief is, being aſked in what place his payne lyeth: ſo in all Realmes and congregaciones of people, whan they doo not fele the common calamities and miſeries that are among them, it is a moſt certain and infallible ſigne that the deſtruction and thende of it is at hande. And therfore geue me leaue (I beſeche you) to open your woundes, and to ſearche the cauſe of your calamities, and than to miniſtre and powre in to them ſome holſome bawme, and couer them with ſome comfortable plaſtre.

And albeit I doo it not ſo finely as ſom others can, but boiſteously after my rude maner, yet I doubt not, but by Goddes grace ye ſhall finde confort, or at leaſt perceaue, that I haue an earneſt deſire to ſee you holpen. For I meane your wealthe and healthe, as one brother ought of an other, that is borne of the ſame father and mother.

Ther was neuer great miſerie, deſtruction, plage or viſitacion of God, that came on any nacion, citie or countrey, which as they be in dede, ſo may they iuſtly be called woundes, but be ſent of God for ſinne, and be not ſodaynly layed on the people, but are before prophecied and declared by the prophetes and miniſters of Goddes worde, or by ſome reuelaciones, wondres, monſtres inthe earthe, or to kens and ſignes in thelement.

For

For God as he is moſt iuſt , and will not faile to punishe ſynne, ſo is he moſt mercifull , and will not the deathe of ſinners , but rather that they ſhould turne to him and lyue.

And therfore before hande geueth them warning what ſhall folowe, if in tyme they repent not, as by the hiſtories of all ages it dothe appeare. And none of theſe admoniciones haue ye lacked, countrey men.

For the preachers and miniſters of Goddes worde, in the tyme of the godly Ioſias king Edwarde the Sixthe preached and prophecied vnto you, what miſeries and plages ſhould certaynly come to you: the foode of Goddes worde to be cleane taken away frō you, famyn of the body, peſtilence, warres, the loſſe of your goodes, the deflouring and rauishing of your wyues and daughters before your eies, the captiuitie of your bodies, & wyues and children: the ſubuerſion of the policie and ſtate of the Realme : that a ſtraunge king and ſtraunge people (not only in countrey, but alſo in condiciones and maners in reſpecte of your owne) ſhould reigne and rule by force ouer you, if ye in tyme repented you not of your wickedneſſe, amended your lyues , and called to God for mercie.

But than ye paſſed nothing on it, but as the Iewes being downed in ſinne, mocked, ſcorned and murthred the prophetes of God which long before prophecied

vnto them their captiuities and vtter deſtruction :ſo ye laughed and icſted at your preachers wordes, nothing regarding the threattes of God, but contẽnyng thẽ, yea increaceïg in your wickedneſſe, ãd now at leyn ght murthering moſt cruelly the miniſters of God.

And ſeing wordes of warnyng toke no place with you, God for his louing mercie hathe warned you alſo by monſtrous maruailes on the earthe, and horrible wonders in the lement, to put you beſide all maner of excuſes. &what wonderfull monſtres haue ther now lately ben borne in Englande? &what celeſtial ſignes moſt horrible? A childe borne beſides Oxforde in the yeare, M. D. L II. with two heades and two partes of two euil shaped bodyes ioyned in one. A childe borne at Couentree, in the yeare M.D.LV without armes or legges. A childe borne at Fulhã by Londõ euen now this yeare, with a great head, euil shaped, the armes with bagges hanging out at the Elbowes and heles, and fete lame. A childe newe borne at Lõdõ furthewith ſpeaking as a prophet and meſſager of God. An horrible Comete this year, beſides diuerſe eclipſes, whiche folowe. But what were theſe? only bare ſignes? No certaynly, they doo and muſt ſignifie the great wrathe and indignacion of God.

Not long after the paßion of our ſaueour Chriſt, whan the Britaines our cõtreymen went about to recouer their libertie, and to be deſpeched of the moſt cruel ſeruitude and miſerie which the Romaines kept thẽ in, wherin no Britayn was certayn of wife, childrẽ

goodes,no,not of their liues,all thigs were ſo in bõdage of the cruel Romaynes pleaſur : ther were of our coũtreymẽ slayne at one tyme threeſcore ãd ten thouſaũt mẽ,ãd at an other tyme thrittie thouſaũt. Before which ſlaughters ther were many wõders ſene in Englãd. Thimage of the Idole which the Romaines hade in their tẽple called Victorie was turned backe,as though she gaue place to thenenies. The ſea was like blood, ymages of mẽnes bodyes founde on the ſea ſyde. And womẽ were out of their wittes,ãd cried: deſtructiõ at hãde,deſtructiõ at hãde:ſo that the Britaynes were in great hope,ãd the Romaynes in great feare. Before Britayn(now called Englãd)came in to the full power of the Danes,kìg Edmũde the ſõne of Ethelberte beìg slayne,ther were diuerſe ſtraũge thinges, wherby all men geſſed, that an alteration of the Realme was towarde:but chiefly they geſſed the great calamitie by the ſodain ſwelling of the ſea without any euidẽt cauſe,which ſo brake in to the lande , that it deſtroyed many townes and people. Before that great slaughter of Englishe men and Normãdes which was by reaſon of the warres that were in Normandie,betwene king Hẽri the furſt,king of Englãde , and Robert Duke of Normandie his brother (at which tyme Normandie was ioyned to Englande) the ryuer of Trent did not runne one hole daye together,but was ſo emptie,that men paſſed ouer on fote : and at that tyme a ſowe brought furthe a monſtre with the face of a man,and

a henne a foure foted monstre. So that by that that is past, ye maye the boldlier diuine of that that is to come.

The childe by Oxforde, what did it betoken, but that our one swete head, king Edwarde should be taken awaye (as he was in dede) and that ther should be in his place two headdes, diuerse gouernours, and a towarde diuision of the people, but not all together: which so manyfestly folowed, that no man can denye it: or two people should be knytte together, but not in god proporcion nor agrement. The childe of Couentrie without the principal membres to helpe and defende the bodye, must nedes signifie, that the natural body, that is, the people of Englande shalbe helples, ready to be troden vnder the fote of euery creature, and non to releue or succour it.

The childe of Fulham, what can it signifie, but that the natural body of England shalbe weake, the chief membres (thармes and legges) which is the nobilitie, so clogged with chaynes of golde, and bagges of money, that the hande shall not be hable to drawe out the sweorde, nor the heles to spurre the horse to helpe and defende the body, that is, the commones. And as the head of it is the greatest part, and greater than it ought to be, with to muche superfluitie of that it should not haue, wherfore it must pull from the other membres to confort it, and lacke of

that

that good proporcion it ought to haue: ſo ſhall the gouernours and headdes of Englande ſucke out the wealth and ſubſtaunce of the people (the politike bo=dy) and kepe it bare, ſo that it ſhall not be hable to helpe it ſelf, yet ſhall the head neuer come to that na=ture requireth. &what is to be gathered of the yõg chil de, I doo not ſaie it is true, bicauſe the father was forced (onles he wold haue loſt his life) to recant it: but might it not be true? Is ther not as muche to be ſaied for it, as for the popes trãſubſtãciacion? Dothe not Euſebius Pamphili (a man of as good credite, as Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Gratianus, and ſuche other the inuẽtours and mainteners of tranſubſtanciacion) write, that a lambe contrary to nature and poßibili=tie, did in plaine wordes before declare the nature and diſpoſicion of Bochorus king of Egipt? They that write the cronicles of the Romaines ſaie, that a dog=ge, a ſerpent, and oxen did ſpeake. But ſcripture plain=ly ſaieth, that Baalams aſſe (a creature vnreaſonable, without poßibilitie to ſpeake) did ſaie to his maiſter: why beateſt thou me? And Iohn the baptiſt contrary to the common courſe of nature, lept and reioiced in his mothers wombe, whan Chriſtes mother being with childe came to ſee Elizabeth his mother. 151

If men that beleued not the miracles, which the gogle eied Roode of Boxley, the Idole of walſinghã, the bawde of willeſdõ, which euery foole might ſee to be deceates and open illuſions, were condemned and

burned for heretikes: how should they be taken, that doo not beleue the manifeſt workes of God?

The horible Comete and blaſing ſtarre that was ſene this yeare greater in Englande than elles wher, what elles dothe it betoken, but the great diſpleaſure of God? and therfore famin, peſtilẽce, warres, ſedicio, deathe of princes, inuaſion of forain naciones, deſtruction of ſom or many cities and countreics, and the alteracion and chaungeing of the ſtate and gouernement? For if it be laufull for man to diuine of Goddes wonderfull workes, and by the like thinges paſt, coniecture thoſe that be to come: why should we not affirme, that theſe plages will folowe? Before the great warres made by Xerſes againſt the Greciaues, and the ouerthrowing of the hole ſtate of Grece, ther was a blaſing ſtarre ſene of the shape of an horſe, and an eclipſe of the ſunne.

Before the laſt and vtter deſtruction of the citie of Ieruſalem, ther was ſene hanging in thelement ouer the tẽple a burning ſweorde almoſt the ſpace of a hole yeare. In the time of cruel Nero, ther was a Comete that continued ſixe monethes.

After that folowed great ſedicion and alteracion in thempire: and the kingdome of the Iewes (marke well) was vtterly deſtroied. Before the deathe of our countrey man Conſtantine the great, who was the furſt profeſſour of the Goſpell of Chriſt among all themperours: and no doubt a ſpecial fauourour and

promotour

promotour of it. For he did not prohibite laie men to reade Goddes worde, as ſom princes doo at this tyme, but he cauſed examples of the Bible to be written at his owne charges, and ſent in to all countreyes: ther was a great Comete, and afterwarde folowed a wonderfull and cruel warre, which who ſo deliteth in hiſtories, maie perceaue.

Before the diſſenſion and deadly warres that was betwene the brethren of Lotarius themperour, ſonne of Lodouicus Pius, for the diuiſion of thinheritaunce (wherby ſuche ſlaughter grewe in Fraunce, that the Frenchemen were neuer after hable to recouer perfitly their force) ther were many Cometes ſene.

About the yeare of Chriſt M.I. ther was an horrible Comete ſene, and than folowed wonderfull famines and peſtilence.

In the yeare MLXI. before thinuaſion of &williã Conquerour into England, and the conqueſt of the ſame, and in which Heralde king of England with twentie thouſaunt true Engliſhemen in the defenſe of their countrey againſt the tiranne were ſlaine: ther was ſene a wonderfull Comete, which euery man thought (as in dede it folowed) to be muche miſchief and thalteracion of the ſtate, as hereafter ye ſhall heare. A litle before the great warres in Normandie (wherof ye haue hearde before) ther was ſene in Normandie a great Comet, and two full mones at one time shyning, thone in the eaſte, thother in the weſte.

weſt. In the yeare M C C X X I. whileſt the warres were in Aſia betwene the chriſten men and the vnchriſten, wher vnto king Henry the thrid ſent a power of Engliſhemen vnder therle of Cheſtre (for the maintenaũce wherof the nobilitie furſt graũted the king the wardeſhip of their children, as Polidore writeth) before the Chriſten men loſt the citie of Damiata, and a great ouerthrowe of them was in Egipt, many wonders were ſene in diuerſe places, and alſo in Englande a very great Comete, a wonderfull great earthequake, all the wynter horrible thonders, which in Englande ſeldome in Somer be hearde: ſuche great raines, and tempeſtes of windes, that it ouerthrewe many houſes: and the ſea drowned mani places, which euery man ſaied, betokened the hurt that folowed on chriſten men. In the yeare M C C X L I. a litle before wales was brought to the ſubiection of the king of Englande, ther appeared in England a terrible Comete, by the ſpace of xxx. daies.

In the yeare M.D.XXXI. ther was an horrible Comete. And what folowed of it? The Turke occupied a great parte of Vngarie: the kĩg of Denmarke Chriſtierne inuading his coũtrey with a great armie, and ſo minding to recouer his kingdome, was taken and his ſonne. And why ſhould not ye of England thike, that theſe ſignes be only (or at the leaſt chiefly) for you? Compare your ſelues, and your liues and doinges with the Iewes, or the worſt nacion, if any

can

can be worse: and see whether ye be not hable to mat= 155
che them, yea to ouermatche them, and to droppe
vie, three for one? In what nacion vnder the cope of
heauen, hathe God shewed greater tokens of his sa=
uour, and it so litle set by, as in Englande? & what con=
tempt of him, his worde and ministers hathe bē ther?
& what dissimulacion with God? what hipocrisie? & what
swearing and foreswearing? & what traitery e to their
countreye? & what disobedience to the gouernours in
good, godly and necessary thinges? & what ready obe=
dience to their rulers in wicked and euil thīges? & what
vnnatural bitcherie vsed betwene the father and
daughter, brother and sister? & what abominable hoo=
redome suffred vnpunished? yea in many and the chie=
fest places the greatest hooremongers, the impudentest
ribauldes, the peltingest bribers, and the lewdest per=
sones made Iustices of the peace, and correctours of
vice? & what railing and reuiling of the worthy pure
preachers of Goddes gospell for only rebuking of vi=
ce? & what horrible murdres secret and open, not only
of priuate persones, but also of the most honou=
rable peeres and reuerende ministers of God? & what
bochering and burning of true Englishe christianes,
yong and olde, hole and lame, seing and blynde, man,
woman, and childe, without respecte of age, sexe or
astate? & what pillig and polling, taking and snatching,
stealing and robbing, not only among the meane sor=
te, but among the greatest? & wher is so great hatred
and

and malice, ſo litle loue and charitie, as in Englande? I ſhould neuer make an ende, if I ſhould tell but that I haue my ſelf ſene and knowē, muche leſſe if I ſhould declare all that other credible perſones of their owne knowlage report to be moſt certain and true.

But to retourne to the mater. Loke well England, loke well, whether this Comete paſt, and eclipſes to come, touche the? Art thou not all ready plaged with famin? Yes, and with ſuche a famin, as thou neuer before heardeſt of. It is true, ye had darthes in the time of kinges Henry and Edwarde, but thoſe were dearthes without nede: only they were occaſioned by the gredineſſe and malice of naughtie men without ſcarcitie or lacke of thinges: ād for lacke of diligēt ouerſeing and good gouernement, and not by the directe plage of God. But theſe two yeares ſince kīg Edwardes deathe, from the reſtitucion of your curſed popiſhe maſſe, ye haue had ſcarcitie by the directe plage of God. The earthe not brought furthe ſuche plaintie as it cuſtomably did before. &wher before time the countrey fedde London, London contrary wiſe was and is forced of her former prouiſion to fede the countreie. &wher Dantiſke ād other the northe eaſt partes were the barnes and garners of corne, for they had the prouiſion of corne for many yeares before hande, ād nouriſhed all the lowe partes of Germanie, Denmarke Friſelande, holande, Zelande, Brabaunt, Flanders, Hiſpaine and many other: now by reaſon of their

bringing

bringing ſo muche to releue Englande, onles a ſtaie be made in time, they them ſelues will periſhe of famin. &whan were euer thinges ſo deare in Englande, as in this time of the popiſh maſſe ād other Idolatrie reſtored? &who euer hearde or redde before, that a pounde of beefe was at iiij.d. A shepe xx.s. A poũde of Candelles at iiij.d. A poũde of Buttur at iiij.d.ob. A poũde of Cheſe at iiij.d. two egges a penie, a quarter of wheat, lxiiij.s. A quartre of malt at l.s. or aboue: the people driuen of hongre to grinde accornes for bread meale, and to drinke water in ſtede of ale? And what? Shall this famin awaie, before his walkīg mate and felowe (peſtilence) come? No ſurely, without your earneſt ſpedy repentaunce, and Goddes exceding miraculous mercie, it is not poßible: for hitherto the one went neuer before, but the other cam either arme in arme, or elles quickly after.

But it ſhall almoſt come to late for common perſones, for they be ſo hanged vp by xx. and xl. in a plumpe (and a great nombre of them, bicauſe they confeſſed and profeſſed, that they ſhould be ſaued by thonly merites of Chriſtes paßion) that the peſtilence shall haue litel matier amōg the meane ſorte to be occupied on: but therfore muſt be the more occupied with the great.

And haſt thou (England) had no ſedicion and inwarde grudge? Yes, ſo muche that the headdes and

gouernours

gouernours durſt not pepe out of their priuie chambres: nor one neighbour ſeme to talke with an other, for feare to be noted and accuſed of conſpiracie. Yea and that (that is worſt of all, and to be lamented of all engliſhe men) ther is inwarde grudge, and ſecret malice betwene the membres, that is, the Nobilitie ād Commones.

The one hateth and contemneth the other, which is the worke of the deuil, and his miniſters the popiſhe Prelates and prieſtes. They caſt water in to the coles, to make the fire greater: for they knowe, onles ſuch diuiſion and diſſenſion be foſtred and nouriſhed, their kingdome wolde ſone lie in the dirte. This is the practice of ſuche as minde the conqueſt or vtter deſtruction of any people, to maintene and pricke forewarde diſſenſion, diuiſion and diſcorde among the people. For Chriſtes wordes are true, who ſaieth, that euery kīgdome diuided in it ſelf ſhalbe deſolate, and euery citie or houſe diuided againſt it ſelf, ſhall not continue. The prophet prophecieng of the deſtruction of the kingdome of the Iewes, ſaied before, that ther ſhould be ciuile and inwarde ſedicion, as ther was in dede in Ieruſalem, betwene three peſtilent factiones and partes, wherof Symon, Ioannes, and Eleazarus were the autors and headdes. This was Xerſes practice to ſet the Grecianes by the eares, to maintene Ciuile warres and diſſenſion among them, that ſo whan one had deſtroied an other, he might

might easily enioye all. This policie haue all other ambicious monarkes hitherto in all places practiced. And as Gardyner whan he should dye, did not lament his synnes, but sent for the Quene, and wept to her, that he could no longer lyue to serue her grace, that is, to vndoo the nobilitie and cõmons of the Realme: but he desired her to procede as he counsailed her by his worde and writing: so Granuell whan he should also dye, sent worde to thẽperour Charles, and required him, not to forget his counsail, but still vse it, that is, to nourishe and mayntene dissension among the states of Germanie, and so he should at leyngth easily come by the hole. In like maner if the traiterous bisshoppes and priestes can ones set the cõmones against the nobilitie and gentilmen, they will sone (the nobilitie being ones suppressed) sende the cõmones to clymbe a dawes nest, and vse them at their pleasur. But wise mẽ and suche as loued their countrey in tyme past, foresawe this mischief that came by inwarde grudge and ciuile discorde: and euer (as muche as in them laie) went about to let it. They thought it was most necessare to prouyde for the sauegarde of the hole by all meanes, and not for any particular parte: which maye wel appear by the wisdõ of Thrasibulus, who beig dryuen out of Athens (his countrey) by the xxx. tiranes, bicause he wolde not consent to their tirannye, ãd to see his countrey destroyed: at leyngth gathered together all those that were banished with him, and by

the helpe of the Thebanes their neighbours, toke a caſtle beſides Athenes, and afterwarde in batail he ouercame the tirannes, and reſtored all thoſe that wer banished, to their coũtrey, ãd their olde lawes that were takẽ awaie by the tyrãnes. And ſeig what miſchief might folowe, if he did not tak awaie thĩ warde grudge that was among the people, and make an vnitie betwene thẽ, albeit the poore banished men were ſpoiled of all that they had, and their goodes in thoſe handes, that hade no right therto, yet made he thẽ all to geue a promyſe, that non should claime any thing of another, but that all should be forgeuen and forgoten. And the ſame wiſedom did the Romaynes many tymes vſe, to make quietneſſe among the people, and to preſerue the hole common wealthe. Yea the noble men of Rome, albeit they were as ambicious as others, and one enuied an others glorie, yet whan the common wealthe was in haſarde, and that their ſeruice muſt be vſed for the defenſe of their countrey, they did cleane forgeue and forget all priuate iniuries and inwarde grudge: yea it was the chief meane to reconcile enemyes. And no maruail among wiſemen, for they ſawe, if the hole body of their countrey should perishe, they could not proſpre. Ther can be no arme, wher ther is no body: and it is a feble body that lacketh the armes and legges. Yea it is a moſt miſerable body wher the armes and leggs beate the body, ãd the body goeth about to shake of tharms and legges.

And

And albeyt ther be no people, that haue ben more plaged by inwarde ſedicion and ciuile diſcorde, than Englishemen: yet is ther none that leſſe conſidre it. I can not tell, wherof it cometh, but commonly they neither remembre that is paſt, nor forſee that is to come, but only (as vnreaſonable creatures) loke vpō thoſe thinges that be preſent. The diſſenſion and diſcorde that was in Britayne our coūtrey (which now is called Englād) and betwene our owne coūtrey mē, brought firſt the Romaynes in to England: who after they were entred, ſone toke all to thē ſelues: they murthered a great nōbre of the Britaynes, of ſom they toke their childrē pledges, and ſent thē to Rome: ād to ridde the Realme of ſtrong ād luſtie pſones, that ther might be none to withſtāde thē, they ſent armies ād gariſones of thē out of the realme, to ſerue in forayn coūtreies. Thoſe that were leſt at home, they ſpoiled of their goodes with great taxes and impoſiciones: and a great nombre made slaues and bondemen, and glad was he, that could fynde fauour to enioye any litel parte of his owne as long as he lyued. By this meanes was the realme almoſt made deſolate, and than the Pictes (a barbarous and cruel nacion) inuaded Britayne, and deſtroied man, woman, and childe, that came in to their handes: and ſo greater miſerie folowed, the people forced to flye in to montaynes, wooddes and caues for their ſauegarde, and by that meanes the grounde not tilled, great famyn came on them, and

than wonderfull peſtilence, as lightli thone goeth not without the other. Thus our countreimen the Britaynes being oppreſſed by the Pictes, ſought aide of the Saxones (men of great force, but of litle truthe) who whan they were come in to the Realme, and ſawe the fertilitie of it, ſubtily deuyſed, to marie Ronix daughter to their captayn Hengiſtus, to the king of Britayne called Vortiger. She being inſtructe what she should doo foũde the meanes, that her owne countreymen should be placed nygheſt the kyng, and haue the greateſt offices. Thus were our countreymen the Britaynes remoued from their king, ſtraungers placed in all offices and holdes, and at leynght the lande was ouerrunne, and poſſeſſed of Straungers. And the mane of Britayne put awaye, and the realme called Englande.

The Danes after vnderſtanding how fertile and pleyntifull England was, ſought meanes by litle and litle, to place themſelues in Englande, and after a king of Dẽmarke in his owne perſone inuaded Englãd in the Northe, ãd made wõderfull cruell warres, they ſpared none, they burned and waſted Yorkeshire, Northumberlande, and all places, ſo that the enhabitauntes were forced to ſue for peace at the Danes handes. Then built they the towne of Dancaſtre (that is, the Caſtle of the Danes) and whiles they had peace, ſent for moo Danes: and whan they thought their force and power bigge ynough, they paſſed not vpon promiſes

myſes and leagues that they had made, but renued the warres, killed, burned ād ſpoiled in euery place, til thei came to Exceſtre : the people and realme was moſt miſerably tormented , and made tributarie to them. Diuerſe of the nobilitie of England vpon light yea no occaſiones , but only bicauſe they were thought not to fauour the Danes, were taken, their noſe trilles moſt villanously slytted, their handes cut of. Ah good God , who can remembre theſe thinges without weping? &who that feareth thy wrathe (lorde) will not amēde his life, ād call to thee for mercie? &what naughtie nobilitie were that, that wolde oppreſſe the commones, and afterward be vſed and oppreſſed them ſelues, by ſtraungers, as their predeceſſours haue ben before tyme? &what deuillishe Cōmones might that be called, that wolde repyne or rebelle againſt the nobilitie and gentilmen , and than to be ouerrunne them ſelues with prieſtes and forayners, and to be pyned with ſuche miſerie, as ye heare that our auncettours were: and all bicauſe the gentilmen and cōmones agred not among them ſelues? &who is a natural Englishe man, that will not in tyme forſee and conſidre the miſerie towarde his countreye and him ſelfe, ād by all meanes ſeke to let it? who is it, that cā hope for quietneſſe, peace, healthe, pleyntie, and ſuch like giftes of God, without Goddes fauour and mercie. And how is it poſſible that God ſhould vſe mercie with them, that beare inwarde hatred and grudge one to an other , ād will vſe

no merci with others? If ye forgeue other mẽ their of fenſes that thei cõmitte againſt you (ſaieth Chriſt) your heauenly father will forgeue thoffenſes that ye haue cõmitted againſt him. But if ye doo not forgeue other mẽ their faultes, neither will your father forgeue you your faultes. No whileſt ye ſaye the lordes praier, ād be full of rācour, malice, hatred, ād ēuie towarde your neighbour, ye cõdemne your ſelues, and deſire Goddes plages and vengeaunce to fall on your ſelues: for ye meane vẽgeaũce to your neighbours, ād wiſhe all euill to fall on them. And ſo it dothe fall on you: as ye ſee by experiẽce of the playes ād miſeries that are ād ſhall come to you. But from inwarde ſedicion and ciuile diſ corde, that briedeth ſo muche miſchief, let vs come to outwarde warres and inuaſiones made by ſtraũgers. But ye will ſaye, ye haue no warres with any forain prince. It is true: but ſhall ye haue none? yes, yes: the tyme is not yet come, all is not hatched that is vnder the henne. Your winges muſt be dubbed, your fethers muſt be pulled, your cõbes muſt be cut, you muſt be cle ane piked, your ſubſtaunce ſhalbe gotten by littel and littell out of your handes, by taxes and ſubſidies, by be neuolences and loanes, and ſo frõ a litell to more, and frõ more to more: and at leynght all the marchauntes goodes to be confiſcate in Flaunders by an inquiſitiõ, and others in England by an opẽ excõmunicatiõ. And whan ye be ones cleane ſtripped of your ſtoare, and thus weakened out of courage, ād your harte in your hoſe, as they ſaie: than ſhall your king returne to his

welbeloued wife, England, with great pōpe ād power, and shall cōpell you (in despight of your hartes) to rē dre and deliuer her holly in to his handes. Than shall the easterlinges (vpon hope to recouer their olde and greater priuileges) aide him with mē, money and ship pes: as allready they haue offred and promised, as di- uerse credible lettres haue declared. Thā shall they in uade Englande, and shalbe by shiploades (if no worse happē vnto you) caried in to newe Spaine, ād ther not lyue at libertie, but bicause ye are a stubburne and vn faithfull generaciō, ye shalbe tyed in chaynes, forced to rowe in the galie, to digge in the mynes ād to pike vp the golde in the hotte sande. And so with sorowe to your soppes, your three mānes song shall be, Alas, and &weale awaye. Than shall ye knowe the pride ād lorde lynesse of the Spanyardes, though for a while til they maie get the ouer hande, they crepe and crouche, fe- de men with swete wordes (Baso las manos) and wo- men with confettes, swete wynes, pleasaunt pfumes, gaye apparail, and suche like vayne toyes: but whan they be ones alofte, ther is no naciō vnder the cope of Christ, like thē in pride, crueltie, vnmercifulnesse, nor so farre frō all humanitie as the Spanyardes be: which thig the realme of Naples, the Dukedome of Milane, the citie of Siena, many partes of Duchelande, and the lande of Iulike Cleuelande and Geldre lande can to theyr coste right well testifie.

And maie it not be thought, that the Frēche kig (whā he seeth oportunitie) wilset in a fote, makig clayme to

Englande, in the right of the Quene of Scottes, as heire to hing Hēry theight by his eldeſt ſyſter? And maie it not be ſuſpected, that the pope (to doo the Frenche king a pleaſure) ſhall ſaye the Diuorce betwene king Henry and the dowager was by the canon lawes lauſfull: and ſhall excommunicate the realme, onles they reuoke thacte of parliament, wherby the Dyuorce of late was iudged vnlaufull?

Remēbre, remembre (good countrey men, and true English hartes) the miſerie that folowed in our poore countrey vpon the conqueſt made by thambicious &william Duke of Normādie: vpon how ſmall a title he entred, ād how tyrānously he vſed him ſelf. His only colour was a bequeſt or promiſe made to him by king Edward, brother to Cauntus and Heraldus kinges of England, whā he was a banished man in Normandie, if he ſhould dye without iſſue, as he did. At his firſt entrie, he had a great batail with the newe choſē king of Englād, ād ſlewe hī ād twētie thouſaūt of our coūtreye mē, which put ſuche a feare in all men, the Nobilitie, the cleargie, the Lōdoners, ād others the cōmons, that it made thē ſue for peace, ād to geue pledges for their fidelitie, whom he ſent in to Normandie. At the firſt he made thē many fayre promiſes of peace, quietneſſe ād iuſtice, wherwith the folishe fōde people were ſone begyled. They thought they had hade God by the too, but they hade the wolfe (yea the deuil) by the eares. He firſt fortified the holdes and portes by the ſea ſide,

and in

ād in his abſence(as many times he was forced vpō re- 167
belliones in Normādie,to tetourne)he made a Coūſail of his owne coūtrey mē,ād made the Biſhop of Baion his brother,his lieutenaūt ì Englāde. But whā he was ones ſatled,ād thought him ſelf ſtrong ynough to ke- pe the Engliſhemē vnder:thā Fare well all faire pro- miſes,he begìneth to plaie Rex,yea the deuil in dede.

He ſpoiled the nobilitie of their goodes ād poſſeßio- nes,made thē ſlaues,ād his owne ſlaues Lordes: and vpō the Cōmōs he put wōderfull taxes ād impoſicio- nes. He toke frō the people their weapones ād harne- ſe,ād made a lawe, that no mā should come out of his houſe after the bel rōg, which was at eight of the clo cke, but to couer the fire ād to bedde.&wherfore vntill this daie the bel that thā ringeth,is called Couerfiewe. And thā he built at Notinghā,lyncolne,yorke,ād ha- ſting,ād ſet in thē gariſons of Normādes. And not cō- tented herewith,he executed many wonderfull,cruell thiges, ād ſpecially on the nobilitie,ād ſuche as he ſa- we to be ſtowte mē:ſom he cauſed to be murthred,ſom their noſetrilles to be slitte, and their handes cut of. Happie was he that could flie out of the Realme:he ſo ſpoiled yorkeſhire,ād durhā,ād all the northe ptes, that tē yeares together it laie waſte ād vnhabited. He could in nowiſe abide the English nobilitie,but vtter ly deſtroied thē. And all this he did by the lawe of the deuil,whiche they cal the lawe of armes. The good la- wes ād .uſtomes of Englād he cleane toke awaie, and

made his owne luſtes his lawes, ād put thē in his owne Normāde tongue, that his frēdes might alwaies haue thinterpretacion of thē, and that he might catche the poore Engliſhemā, whā it pleaſed him: ād wolde haue the lawes to be pleaded ād al thīges to be done in Frēche. And he was not takē to be the Normādes frēde, nor no gentilman, that could not ſpeake frenche. And therof cometh the olde puerbe: Iacke wold be a gē tilmā, but he cā no frēche. He remoued thengliſhe biſhoppes, and placed Normādes by the aide of the biſhop of Rome. He pulled downe townes, villages, and houſes, and put out the poore people to make him ſportīg places, prīcely pleaſures, foreſtes, pkes ād chaces. O miſerable Englāde, thct ones thus waſt by a tiranne and outwarde enemies plaged. But how muche more miſerable shalt thou be by the warres that are moſt certain to come shortly ont hee. God be merciſull vnto thee. But me thinkes I heare your papiſtes biſhoppes, prieſtes, friers, and ſuche like Antichriſtiā mōſtres ſaie, that theſe plages which haue fallen and shal come to England (for they knowe, they can not be avoided, no they are occaſioned ād holpē forewarde by them) haue growne for thinges done in king Henry and king Edwardes time, for that their abominacion was diſcloſed, their buries and dēnes digged vp, their monaſteries throwē downe, and the landes diuided ād ſolde to the laitie. Ah hipocrites, Ah ſubtil wolues, ah viperous generacion. & whan the foxe preacheth, bewa

re your

re your geese. &wher in scripture do they finde, that any suche bely Goddes as they are, should be maitened? No, scriptur wold haue such marchaũtes whipped out of the churche, such buiers ãd sellers of mẽs soules. wo be vnto you hipocrites (saieth Christ) for ye swalowe vp the houses of the poore and miserable, that is, that which should be cõuerted to the relief of the poore ãd nedy: ãd that vnder pretẽse of lõg praiers. &wo be vnto you (ye masking Mahoundes) which goo frõ place to place, by sea and by lande, t o make a nouice of your owne ordre, and whan ye haue him, ye make him the childe of hel fire two folde more thã your selfe. I know you not (saieth Christ) awaie frõ me, ye workers of iniquitie. It is only their God the bely, that they seke to serue, they nother passe on the God in heauen, nor the deuil in hell, so they maie haue wherwith to maintene them selues on earthe, in their hooredome, burgerie, pride and al abominacion. And this that I saie, is not feined nor ymagined, but euident in all mennes eies that will not be wilfully blinde.

Those that be desirous to be rulers in monasteries, abbottes and priours before they come to it, they pine them selfe awaie with fasting, weare heare, and vse the rest of thistrumẽtes of hipocrisie for a while: but whã they haue ones caught the fishe they cast for, they shewe what they be plainly. &who so great bely Goddes? &who so great hooremongers? &wher suche knauerie vsed? I am ashamed to tell it. In like maner plaie these

Chaplaynes

Chaplaines of honour, that ſeke for biſhopriches: all ſauing one M. doctour &weſtõ (the cõmõ bull of diſſembled virginitie, and the boare of olde ruſted wi=dowhead) who before hãde ſhewth what he wilbe. But as the worlde goeth, his plaine dealing hathe not nor wil put hĩ to any afterdeale. &wher is ſuche an hoore=mõger (yea worſe thã an hooremõger) as this olde hi=pocrite Paule the fourthe now biſhop of Rome? &who ſo great a gluttõ? &who ſo ꝑwde ãd ambicious? &who ſo great a tirãne ãd tormẽtour? &who ſo great a warriour? And yet before he came to that highe ſeat of antichriſt, he wold ſeme a ſaint, no religiõ nor or=dre of hipocrites was ſtrait ynough for him. He was a frier, a monke, a Capuccine an anchorite, yea what was he not? But ye ſee the marke theſe hipocrites ſho ote at. And I cã tel thee ſomwhat of mine owne know lage, which maie not be denied: for the autor is a man of good credẽce bothe abrode ãd at home with the gre ateſt ãd meaneſt. After the begĩnĩg of the Quenes rei gne, ãd the ſodain alteraciõ of all thinges (cõtrary to othe ãd ꝑmiſe) ther came one of mine ordre vnto me, as I walked in a gardeĩ, ãd wẽt about to ꝑſuade me to ĩcline to the Quenes ꝓcedĩges: Plaie the wiſe mã) ſai=eth he) ãd doo as I ãd other mẽ doo: I haue knowẽ thee of lõg time, to be a good fellowe. I warraũt thee, thou ſhalt recouer thy loſſe ãd liue in honour, if thou wilt be ruled by reaſon. And with that helept vp to clappe me on the ſholder, for onles he ſtode on tippe to, he could

could not reache it. Tuſhe (ſaied he) thou art a foole: 171
If the Turke ruled in Englād, I wold frame mi ſelf to liue accordīg. I maie not nor wil tel you his name, bicauſe I hope he wil ones remēbre hi ſelf, ād cal to God for grace. But to put you ſomwhat frō muſing, I will tel you ſomwhat. In king Henries time, whā Gardiner was called the beare, he was called the ape. & what ſaied drōkē doctour & weſtō in the middes of his cuppes (for wine will diſcloſe ſecretes, if it be as well plied, as his maiſterſhip dothe) by the maſſe, ſaieth he, that bocher the biſhop of Lōdō wil cut al the gētilmēs throtes in Englād, if he cā. Thus ye maie ſee the marcke, wherat theſe hippocrites the papiſtes shoote. They make religiō ād Goddes worde nothing elles thā a colour to couer their wickedneſſe, ād to maītene their lewdneſſe. And therfore they wraſte and wrythe ſcripture to ſerue their purpoſe, and ſo they haue nede to doo: for ther is not one worde in all the ſcripture for thē, but euery worde againſt thē. And bicauſe ye be retourned to their deuociones, haue forſaken God ād his worde, ād cleaue to the pope and his tradiciones, ād maintene ſuche a ſorte of hipocrites, diſſemblers, and open enemies of God ād the Realme of Englāde: therfore haue all theſe plages lighted on you, ād the reſt will shortly folowe without faile. Loke vpon the xxviij. Chap. of deuteronomie, wher it is writtē thus. If thou wilt not hearkē to the voice of the Lorde thy God, to kepe and to doo all his cōmaūdemētes ād his ordinaūces, which

I com-

I cõmaũde the this daie, al these curses shal come vpõ thee ãd ouertake thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the towne, ãd cursed ì the fielde, cursed shal thy basket be and thy stoare. Cursed shalbe the frute of thy body, ãd the frute of thy lande, and the frute of thyne oxen, and the flockes of thy shepe. The lorde shal sende vpon thee cursing, destruction and rebuke, to all that thou settest thy hande to, and that thou doest, vntil he destroie thee, and bring thee to naught quickly, bicause of the wickednesse of thyne inuenciones, and bicause thou hast forsaken me. The lorde shall smite thee with madnesse, blyndenesse, and dasing of heart. Thou shalt be oppressed with wrong, and be polled euermore, and no man shah succour thee. Thou shalt be betrouthed to a wife, and an other man shall lie with her. Thou shalt builde an house, and not dwell therin. Thine oxẽ shalbe killed before thine eies, and thou shalt not eate therof. Thine asse shalbe violently taken from the, ãd shall not be restored to the againe. Thy shepe shalbe geuen to thine enemies, and noman shall rescue thẽ. The frute of thy lande and all thy labours shall a nacion which thou knowest not, eat: ãd thou shalt continually suffre violence, and be oppressed alwaie, so that thou shalt be cleane beside thy self, for the sight that thine eies shall see. Thou shalt cary muche sede out in to the felde, and shalt gather but a litel in, for the gresse hoppers shall destroie it. All thy trees and frute of thy lande shalbe marred with blasting.

The

The ſtraunger that is among you, ſhall climbe aboue thee on highe, ād thou ſhalt come downe beneathe alowe. Moreouer all theſe curſes ſhall come vpon thee, ād ſhal fōlowe the ād ouertake the, til thou be deſtroied: bicauſe thou herkenedeſt not to the voice of the lorde thy God, to kepe his cōmaūdemētes ād ordinaūces, which he cōmaūded the, ād they ſhalbe vpō the as miracles, and vpō thy ſede for euer, bicauſe thou ſeruedeſt not the lorde thy, God with ioifulneſſe ād with a good heart, whan thou hadeſt aboūdaūce of al thiges: therfore thou ſhalt ſerue thine enemie, which the lorde ſhal ſende vpō thee, in hūgre and thirſt, in nakedneſſe and in nede of all thing: and he ſhall put a yowke of Iron about thy necke, til he haue brought the to naught. And the lorde ſhall bring a nacion vpō thee, a nacion whoſe tongue thou ſhalt not vnderſtande: an harde fauoured naciō, which ſhal not regarde the perſone of the olde, nor haue cōpaßion on the yong. The ſame ſhall eat the frute of thy catail, and the frute of thy lande, til he haue deſtroied thee: and ſhall leawe thee neither corne, wine nor oile, neither the increace of thine oxen, nor the flockes of thy ſhepe, til he haue brought the to naught. And the lorde ſhall ſende vpon the and thy ſede great plagues and of long continuaunce, euil ſickeneſſes and of long duraunce. And it ſhall come to paſſe, that as the lorde reioiced ouer you to doo you good, and to multiplie you: euen ſo he will reioyce ouer you,

to deſtroie you, ād to bring you to naught, And amōg theſe naciones thou ſhalt finde non eaſe, neither ſhall the ſole of thy foote haue reſt. But the lorde ſhal geue the an vnquiet hart, ād daſing eies, ād ſorowe of minde, &c. And in the ende of the xxix. Chap. of the ſame it foloweth. Than ſhall all naciones ſaie, wherfore hathe the lorde done on this facion vnto this lande? And men ſhall ſaie: bicauſe th y leſtē the Teſtamēt of their fathers, which he made with them, whan he brought thē out of the lāde of Egipt. For they went ād ſerued ſtraunge goldes, ād worſhipped thē. Goddes which they knowe not, and which hade geuen them naught. And the wrathe of the lorde waxed hotte againſt this lāde, to bring vpō it all the curſes that are writtē ī this boke. &c. By this ſcripture ye are plainly tolde the vndeniable cauſe ād mater, wherfore the lorde God threatneth and ſendeth plages. Reade all the hiſtories of the bible, ād the ꝓphecies of the Prophetes, ād ye ſhal euidētly ſee, how people ād nacions haue bē deſtroied for maintenīg of ſuche Idolaters ād wicked liuers, as the papiſtes are, and wher ſuche wickedneſſe hathe bē vſed (as is amōg you) ād not corrected, as I haue before declared. But thow wilt ſaie: what ſhall we doo, to auoide the calamitie ād miſerie that is bothe preſent and towarde? wolde to God thou diddeſt aſke it frō the botome of thy harte. But I feare thou doeſt diſſemble ād ſpeake it with thy lipes only, as thou waſt wont. Whā the great ſweat was

in

in England in the tyme of king Edwarde, a litle signi 175
ficatiõ of a greater scourge foloweing: and many that were mery at dyner, were buried in the euenyng: som that went at night to slepe lustie, were founde in bedde dead in the morning: some that went not farre frõ their owne house, neuer returned. Than as long as the feruẽtnesse of the plage lasted, ther was cryeng Peccaui, peccaui, peccaui: I haue synned, I haue syñed, I haue sined, mercie good lorde, mercie, mercie, mercie. The ministers of Goddes worde were sought for in eueri corner, thei could not rest, they might not slepe: ye must come to my lorde, ye must come to my lady, my maister prayeth you to come straight vnto hi, my maistres must nedes speake with you. Come, if ye loue God: and if ye loue their saluaciõ, tarye not. For Goddes sake, M. Minister (saye the sicke folkes) tell vs what we shall doo, to auoide Godds wrothe. Take these bagges, paye so muche to suche a man, for I deceaued him: geue him so muche, for I gate it of him by vsurie: I made a craftie bargain with suche a one, restore him so muche, and desyre him to forgeue me. I haue taken bribes of suche a one, I pray you geue him so muche more again. I haue spokẽ euil of suche a mã, God forgeue it me, I haue ben a hooremõgre, a bawde, God perdone me. Dyuide this bagge among the poore, carie this to the hospital, pray for me for Goddes sake. Good lord forgeue me, I haue dissembled with thee: I pretended to loue thy worde with my lippes, but I

thought it not with my hart: but now I see thou knowest the secretest secretes, ād wilt not leaue euil vnpunished. Haue mercie on me, and forgeue me good lord, I beseche thee from the botome of my harte. This was the dißimulaciō of the people for three or foure daies whiles the execucion was: but after whā the rage was somwhat swaged, than returne they to their vomite, worse than euer they were. Than that they had before caused to be restored and geuen in almose, they seke to recouer by more euil fauoured Cheuisaunses. But God is not blynde, nother is his hande shortened: he hathe begonne to mete with you, and will paye you that he oweth you to thuttermost. But whether thou requirest me vnfaynedly, to knowe how to auoide the plage to come, or doest dissēble with me, I hade rather thou shouldest be founde in fault, than I not to doo that I before promised thee. Goddes worde requireth and cō maundeth euery man to helpe his neighbour in worde and dede, as muche as in him lieth. I will therfore tell thee my best aduise, and hartily pray God thou maiest earnestly folowe it. All these plages that before thou hast hearde rehearced, famyn, pestilence, sediciō, warres, destructiones of countrayes, captiuitie of people, and alteraciones of states, are the instrumentes of God sent ād powred on the people for their synnes, that they should be sorie ād repēt thē of their former wicked life, call to God for mercie, ād leade a newe life in holynesse and righteousnesse al the dayes of their life:

&which if ye will earneſtly doo, no doubt but as God is merciſull, ſo will he vſe mercie towards you. For God that neuer deceaued any, but abhorreth all practices, all deceit, and all practicers (the workers of deceipt) promiſeth it by the mouthe of his prophet Ezechiel. If (ſayeth he) the vngodly will turne awaye from all his ſinnes that he hathe done, and will kepe all my cõmaundemcntes, and doo the thing that is iuſt ãd right, doubtles he shal lyue ãd not dye. For al the ſines that he did before, shall not be thought vpõ any more: but in his righteouſneſſe that he hathe done, he shall lyue. For I haue no pleaſur in the deathe of a ſynner (ſaieth God) but that he should repent him of his wicked lyfe ãd lyue &c. It foloweth in the prophet thus: wherfore repẽt and returne frõ your wickedneſſe, ãd your wickedneſſe shal not be your deſtructiõ. Caſte frõ you all your vngodlyneſſe, make you a newe hart ãd a new ſpirite: wherfore will ye dye, O you houſe of Iſrael (that is, all ſuch as truſt to be ſaued by chriſt) ſeing I hare no pleaſur in the deathe of him that dieth, ſayeth the lorde God. Turne therfore, and ye shall lyue.

This is not holy water of the court, bare wordes of courſe, as the princes of the worlde vſe, whiles they goo about to deceaue the poore people with their practices, but he ſaieth no leſſe, than he wil doo: he promiſeth no more, than he will iuſtly and fully perfourme. Scripture is full of exãples to proue it. After the deathe of Gedeon, the children of Iſrael fell from the

worshipping of the true God, be came Idolaters, and worshipped Baalim and Astaroth, and other Goddes as the Ethnikes did, wherfore God plaged them wonderfully with inuasiones and ouerrunning of the Philistines by the space of xviij. yeares: they semed in wordes to doo penaũce, but god sawe they did but dissemble with him, and therfore he wold not heare thẽ. But after they hade done penaunce in dede, that is, destroyed the Idoles, and cast them out of their countreye, than God sent thẽ the noble captain Iepte, who defended them, and reuenged the malice of the philistines, Likewise wher the children of Israel had in the tyme of Hely the priest receaued by the Philistines many slaughters of the people, and had lost many cities and townes for the Idolatrie thei had committed, yet whan by thadmonicion of Samuel they repented (as ye heard before) and turned to God, God turned to them, and was mercifull. And whan the philistines had prepared a wonderfull great force against the children of Israel, God sent sodaynly such a terrible thondre and lightenyng, that they were disspersed and rãne awaye. The childrẽ of Israel psecuted thẽ ãd slewe thẽ, ãd recouered their cities, ãd all that they had lost. & whã the moabites, ãmonites ãd Idumites thought to haue ouerrũne Iuda in the tyme of king Iosaphat, yet whan the king ãd his people lamented to God and called for mercie, God turned awaie his wrathe, and poured it on their enemies, and made them to fal out

among

amongthem ſelues,and ſo to kil one an other. &whan 179
Benadab the king of Siria beſieged Samaria,ther was
ſo great a famì in the citie,that womẽ e:e their owne
children:but whan king Ioram ãd the people fel to re
pentaũce,ãd called to God for mercie,they had in one
daie pleìtie of al thinges. For God ſent ſuch a terrour
among the Sirianes with the noiſe of armour, that
they fled,ãd lefte all their vitaile bagge and baggage
behinde them for thoſe of Samaria. Ye haue hearde
before alſo,how Oloſernes and Sẽnacherib that inua=
ded Iſrael, were with their holc armies deſtroied of
God,after the people repẽted thẽ of their ſinnes,and
called for mercie. And ſo ye haue ìnumerable exãples
of the great mercie of God towarde al that repented
truly,and called for mercie. As of the citie of Niniue,
whom albeit God had threatened vtterly to deſtroie
thẽ,yet whã God ſawe they were penitẽt for their for
mer wicked life,ãd called vnto hì for mercie, he with=
drewe his plage , ãd held out his merciſull hande ouer
thẽ:euẽ ſo ye(good coũtrey mẽ ãn true engliſhe har=
tes)if ye wil in time earneſtly repẽt you of your ſin=
nes,leaue your Idolatrie,ãd honour and worſhip God
truly,as ye were taught ì bleſſed kìg Edwardes time,
abhorre the fonde phãtaſies and fõliſhe tradiciones of
mẽ,ãd cleaue to the ſincere worde of God,ãd be deſi=
rous of the knowlage of it:leaue your blaſphemie and
vaine ſwearing ãd horrible forſwearing ãd periurie,
no lõger hate your countreie, but be true and faith=

full to it, ād by all godly meanes ſeke the wealthe and ſauegarde of it: if ye wil obey Goddes cōmaūdemētes before your gouernours, ād your gouernours in that is godly, honeſt, and iuſt, and not elles: If ye will leaue your bawdrie, horedome ād bitcherye, ād driue out of al places al hoores, hooremōgers ād ſtuehouſes, ād all ſuche as fauour ād maītene thē: if ye will abſtine frō cruel murthering of the Saintes of God ād innocētes, ād rather your ſelues be cōtēt to ſuffre all martirdome, thā ye wil embrewe your fingres ī their blood, or cōſent to it: if ye wil leaue oppreſſing of your neighbours, your ſubtiltie, crafte and deceat, ād your ſelues leaue to loue gredineſſe, and inordinate deſire of the traſhe of this worlde: if you leaue your inwarde hatreed, grudge ād malice one to an other, if the nobilitie will loue ād chearifhe the cōmonaltie, ād the cōmones honour ād lōue the nobiltie: if one wil ſhewe him ſelf a brother and neighbour in dede to an other: thā no doubt if ye doo theſe thīges frō the botome of the harte, that the mouthe ād harte agree together, your ſaienges ād doinges be al one: than shall ye pceaue, that God wilbe eaſily intreated to turne. Thā maie ye boldly aske of God in Chriſtes name, ād your deſires shal be hearde ād graūted. But ye maie ī nowiſe diſſemble with hī, as the Iſraelites did, whā they ſaied thei wold cōmitte no more Idolatrie, ād yet kept their Idoles, as you pulled do wne your ymages, but yet kept them ſeeretly in your chībres: nor yet as Iudas Iſcarioth did,

who

who lamented his ſinnes ād repēted, but returned not to God: nor yet as your ſelues did diſſemble in the laſt ſweat, whiles Goddes whippe was in your neckes, but ye muſt cleane doo awaie the olde mā and put on the newe: ye muſt refuſe ād caſt awaie all euilles, and doo that is good, ād euer ſtudie to do that shal pleaſe God, ād in nowiſe loke (as lottes wife did) backewarde: but ſtill goo forewarde. And thā if ye call to God for mercie, putting your ful ād onely truſt in him, he wil heare you, ād take frō you thoſe plages that lie on you, ād the other which moſt certainly (if ye repēt not, hang ouer you, and wil come vpon you. Than will he ſende you his benedictiō for maledictiō, pleitie for famī, heal the for peſtilēce, peace for warres, quietnes for trouble, for cruel tirānie, a godly ād iuſte gouernemēt: for ſediciō, ſuche force ād power, that you beīg a fewe, shalbe hable to withſtāde all the tirannes of the worlde, and enemies of God ād our coūtrey, ād vtterly cōfoūde thē ād deſtroic thē. Ye shall auoide the eternal paines of hel prepared for ſinners: and at leinght ye shalbe ſure alſo to make a chaūge frō your earthly coūtrey, to the heauēly Paradiſe: frō variable Englād, to the cōſtaunt Ieruſalem: frō the cōpany of men, to the felowſhip of Angelles: from mutable and frowning coūtenaūces of worldely powers, to the vnchaūgeable ād moſt cōfortable ſight of the kīg of all kinges, our moſt merciful eternal heauēly father. To whō with the ſonne ād the holy gooſt, be all honour, praiſe and glory now and euer. Amen.